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The Population of Reunited Jerusalem, 1967–1985

by U.O. SCHMELZ

JERUSALEM IS A CITY with a long and fascinating history, a city held sacred by three faiths. Even in the modern period, Jerusalem's religious importance has been a fundamental determinant of the city's development.

The course of Jerusalem's general and demographic evolution in the 20th century has been uneven. Prior to World War I, Jerusalem was the largest city—in terms of total and Jewish populations—of what became Mandatory Palestine. Indeed, Jerusalem had a Jewish majority among its total population going back to the second half of the 19th century. But World War I caused a great loss of inhabitants, especially Jews, due to departures and mortality. Though Jerusalem became the country's capital when Palestine was constituted as a British Mandate (1918–1948), the city's Jewish and total populations experienced lesser relative growth than Tel Aviv (and Yafo)—which overtook Jerusalem in numbers in about 1930—and Haifa. This was due to limited economic opportunities in Jerusalem and—from the Jewish standpoint—the city's location within a compact Arab region. Jerusalem had 62,700 inhabitants, including 34,100 Jews, according to the census of 1922; there were 93,100 inhabitants, including 53,800 Jews, according to the census of 1931. The last estimates of the Mandatory government put the corresponding figures at 164,400 and 99,300, as of 1946.

Israel's War of Independence in 1948 included among its important aspects the siege of the Jewish part of Jerusalem by the Arabs and the area's subsequent relief by Israeli forces. As a result of the war there was a partition into two cities--an Israeli Jerusalem and a Jordanian Jerusalem. Both sides experienced population losses through out-migration during the war. On the Jewish side, this was soon overcome when a portion of the mass of immigrants who flocked into the newly created State of Israel were directed to Jerusalem.

During the 19 years of partition, Jerusalem was Israel's official capital city. Yet, Jewish Jerusalem led an uncomfortable existence during this period, constricted as it was on three sides by an inimical armistice line that left it connected to the main body of the state by only a narrow corridor. While no Jews could live in Jordanian Jerusalem, 99 percent of Israeli Jerusalem's inhabitants were Jewish. Their number leaped from the 82,900

permanent residents—the *de facto* number was smaller—who were enumerated in November 1948, to 138,600 by 1951, in an enlarged city territory, and then to 165,000 according to the 1961 census, and an estimated 196,800 in September 1967. In 1961, 60,500 inhabitants were counted in Jordanian Jerusalem.

The Six Day War of June 1967 led to the reunification of Jerusalem and to a considerable enlargement of the municipal territory on the former Jordanian side. Thus, urban areas that had sprung up outside the narrow Jordanian city boundaries, together with a hemicycle of Arab villages, elements of a Bedouin tribe in course of sedentarization, and a camp of 1948 Arab refugees were all included in the enlarged city territory. The war led to the departure of numerous Arabs, primarily during the summer months of 1967, many of them wives and children going to join family heads elsewhere in the Middle East.

At the end of September 1967, a special census held in "East Jerusalem," i.e., the ex-Jordanian areas, counted 68,600 persons. Adding an estimate for those areas of Jerusalem that already formed part of Israel, a total population of 267,800 is arrived at, including 196,800 (73.5 percent) Jews. Had it not been for the enlargement of the city territory on the ex-Jordanian side, the proportion of Jews would have amounted to 81 percent. Since the 1967 census, the whole of enlarged Jerusalem has been included in the official statistics of Israel's population.

This article will describe the sociodemographic characteristics of Jerusalem between 1967 and 1985, with emphasis on data from the population census of 1983. The article forms part of a larger study of Jerusalem's demographic evolution since the middle of the 19th century.*

Israel's Population, 1967–1985

The general evolution of population in Israel during 1967–1985 provides the framework for an examination of the specific evolution in Jerusalem. Between September 1967 and the end of 1985, the total population of Israel rose from 2,765,000 to 4,266,000 (i.e., by about 1,500,000, or 54 percent) and the Jewish population from 2,374,000 to 3,517,000 (i.e., by 1,143,000, or 48 percent (table 1).[1] The number of non-Jews in the state experienced an abrupt increase because of the addition of East Jerusalem, rising from 312,000 at the end of 1966 to 391,000 in September 1967, and then grew

*Part of the research was carried out at the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry. The author wishes to thank Judith Even, Nitza Genuth, and Arin Poller for their assistance. The whole study will be published as volume 20 in the Jewish Population Studies series of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry (in conjunction with the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies).

[1]See Appendix for tables.

gradually to 749,000 in 1985 (i.e., by another 92 percent). The annual growth rates were 2.4 percent for the total population, 2.2 percent for Jews, and 3.6 percent for non-Jews. Categorized by religion, the latter are almost exclusively Muslims, Christians, and Druze.

JEWS

After 1967 the number of Israel's Jews grew, primarily owing to natural increase. The striking fertility differential that existed in Israel in the mid-1950s between Asian-African Jews and European Jews had by 1985 virtually disappeared. While the Asian-African Jews rapidly reduced their fertility, European Jews slightly raised theirs, thus constituting an exception to the great fertility decline that swept over the developed countries beginning in the 1960s. The current fertility of Israel's total Jews—an average of 2.8 children per woman (regardless of marital status)—markedly exceeds not only that of Diaspora Jews but also the levels observed among the general populations of developed countries. The level suffices for natural increase to a not insubstantial extent—1.4 percent in recent years. With regard to patterns of nuptiality, fertility, and very low mortality, similar levels have beeen attained between the two previously diverse major origin groups of Israel's Jews, more so than in many other spheres. It should be noted that above 20 percent of recent marriages between Jews are origin-mixed in respect to these two major groups.

About half a million Jews immigrated to Israel during 1967–1985, of whom nearly 80 percent came from Europe-America, about 165,000 from the Soviet Union alone.[2] In recent years, however, owing to the virtual stoppage of Jewish departures from the USSR, immigration has been at a very low level (minor spurts such as refugees from Ethiopia notwithstanding). Nor is any real change likely, unless large numbers of Jews are again allowed to leave the Soviet Union—and on the further condition that they actually come to Israel and do not opt for other destinations—or that *aliyah* (immigration) increases significantly from the free and affluent countries of the West. The external migration ba'ance—immigrants minus emigrants—of Israel's Jews during the whole span 1967–1985 amounted to about 285,000, but has been small in the most recent years.

NON-JEWS

The rapid growth of Israel's non-Jewish population has been essentially due to high natural increase, though the addition of East Jerusalem and, later, of the Golan Druze has contributed as well. The migration balance

[2]The entire Soviet Union is classified under "Europe" in Israel's official immigration statistics.

of all non-Jews in Israel is close to nil. Their mortality is low, thanks to Israel's well-developed health services. A conspicuous difference has long prevailed between the high fertility of Muslims and Druze, on the one hand, and the rather low fertility of Christians, on the other, though the latter, too, are overwhelmingly Arab. The average fertility of Muslims reached peaks above 9 children per woman in the 1960s, but has dropped with dramatic speed since the 1970s—it is already below 5 and still decreasing. This momentous change can be attributed to the replacement, in the reproductive age groups, of the generation born in the Mandatory period by that born since the establishment of Israel. This turnover of generations has been accompanied by, among many other things, a substantial rise in education, in which women have also participated. Whereas the natural increase of Israeli Muslims was 4.5 percent on average in the 1960s and that of all non-Jews above 4 percent, the corresponding figures for 1985 were only 3.1 and 2.9 percent, respectively. Despite this strong reduction, however, the natural increase of Israel's non-Jews is still twice as high as that of Jews. But the differential continues to narrow.

The non-Jewish population of Israel is now distributed as follows: Muslims—77 percent; Christians—13 percent; and Druze—10 percent. The relative share of Christians is slowly shrinking due to their smaller natural increase.

Since the termination of massive Jewish immigration and partly also due to the incorporation of East Jerusalem, the proportion of Jews in Israel's total population receded from 88 percent in 1966 to 82 percent in 1985.

The Arabs in the administered areas still have relatively high fertility and natural increase, but—unlike the Arabs in the state territory of Israel—they have a long-standing tendency to emigrate for economic reasons. (Since 1967, nationalistic motives have also played a role in this regard.) This emigration slows down their population growth, one result being that the proportion of Jews in the entire territory of what was Mandatory Palestine has remained about 63–64 percent throughout the period 1967–1985.

General Evolution of Jerusalem

Within the general Israeli framework, reunited and enlarged Jerusalem, with a 1985 population above 450,000, is a widespread city with an area of more than 100 square kilometers. Since 1967 intensive building activity has taken place, decisively changing the townscape. Most evident are the large-scale public-housing projects for Jews on the perimeter of the new municipal territory, but there has also been a great deal of building by Arabs. Movement is now free and unfettered to and from Jerusalem in all directions within Israel and the administered areas. The latter are legally and administratively distinct, but there are no limitations to the flow of persons and goods, nor any control posts on the road. This is both practically and

psychologically important for Jerusalem, which is situated along the previous armistice line, at a junction between territories inhabited predominantly either by Jews or Arabs.

Jerusalem's traditional geographic handicap of inland location in a mountainous terrain has become less important in an age of good roads and fast traffic. As the nation's capital, Jerusalem functions as a center for public services, in addition to being a holy city and tourist attraction of international renown. Yet, the comparative deficiency of other economic branches remains a source of obvious weakness for Jerusalem's economy.

Coexistence of diverse groups continues to be the rule in Jerusalem's population and society, but the practical expressions of it are now somewhat modified, compared to late Mandatory times. There is more economic cooperation between Jews and Arabs, both in the exchange of goods and services and in the employment of Arabs by Jews. (Jews are not hired by Arabs, however.) Residential separation between religious groups, which is an age-old practice in the Levant, continues to predominate in Jerusalem as between Jews and Arabs, as well as between Christians and Muslims. In the Mandatory period, huge separate zones of Arabs and Jews crystallized, practically bisecting the city before its actual partition during 1948–1967. Since 1967 a pattern of alternating medium-sized areas has formed in the ex-Jordanian zone, each of which is inhabited almost exclusively by people of one group or another.

Among Jews, the earlier tendency in the direction of separate residential location for people from a particular geographical region abroad has been much reduced and is largely confined to long-established and rather poor families, especially their older members. A growing portion of the Jewish population, particularly among the younger generation, lives in large housing projects or smaller condominiums, regardless of family origin. For this segment, it is life-style and financial means that determine residential location in the modern parts of the city. Some overlap still exists between those categorized as living in less privileged surroundings and being of Asian-African origin, reflecting the socioeconomic conditions of many of the immigrants who came from Asia-Africa in the first two decades of the state. Another long-existing social and residential differentiation—that between the ultra-Orthodox and other Jews—is assuming increased prominence in Jerusalem, with the growing ultra-Orthodox subpopulation expanding its accustomed residential areas and establishing itself in new ones.

Physically, Jerusalem's Arabs live at a distance from other Arabs in the state territory of Israel but are surrounded by those of Judea, in the administered areas. Culturally, they are in an intermediate position: they have lived in the Israeli context and have been exposed to Israeli influences for a shorter time than other Arabs in Israel—only since 1967—but they are more intensively exposed to those influences than are the Arabs of the

administered areas. By now half of Jerusalem's Arab residents have been born under Israeli administration. Since its reunification, Jerusalem has had by far the largest population of Arabs, and, among them, of Muslims, of any town in the state territory of Israel.

Jerusalem's sphere of influence has widened as modern transportation has diminished the importance of distances in a small country like Israel. In particular, Jerusalem is now the nucleus of what amounts functionally to a metropolitan area, or rather two such areas that partly overlap. The one consists of the Jewish satellite towns and settlements in the former "corridor" to the west, as well as in Judea and parts of Samaria, which are closely linked to the city. The other consists of the Arab towns and villages in Judea which do the following: look to the Arab sector in Jerusalem as their own major urban center; find in the Jewish sector of the city important suppliers of goods and services, as well as customers and employers; and have recourse to governmental or Jewish institutions (e.g., hospitals) in Jerusalem.

Population Dynamics in Jerusalem

The main sources of demographic data on the population of Jerusalem and Israel since 1967 are the following: the national censuses of May 1972 and June 1983,[3] including special tabulations which the author prepared from the data files deposited with the Hebrew University;[4] and statistics of vital events, internal migration, and immigration, as well as up-dated estimates, all prepared by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.[5] With special reference to Jerusalem are the following: the census of East Jerusalem, conducted in September 1967,[6] and special studies which the author made of fertility of Jews according to degree of religiosity.[7] The data in the

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[3]See the publications of the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, issued bilingually in Hebrew and English: *Census of Population and Housing 1972*, 17 vols.; *1983 Census of Population and Housing*, publication in progress. Numerous ultra-Orthodox Jews in Jerusalem refused to be enumerated in both these censuses, but a part of the data for them could be supplemented from other sources.

[4]Marked as such in the statistical tables of this article.

[5]See the publications of the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, issued bilingually in Hebrew and English: the data are summarized annually in *Statistical Abstract of Israel;* specific publications are issued on vital statistics, immigration, etc.; see also *Population in Localities 30 V 1977* (Special Publication no. 673).

[6]Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *East Jerusalem: Census of Population and Housing 1967*, 2 vols. (Hebrew and English).

[7]See the articles by U.O. Schmelz: "Fertility of Jewish Women in the Metropolitan Areas of Israel, 1972," in U.O. Schmelz and G. Nathan (eds.), *Studies in the Population of Israel in Honor of Roberto Bachi* (Jerusalem, 1986), Scripta Hierosolymitana, vol. 30; "Religiosity and Fertility Among Israel's Jews," in U.O. Schmelz and S. DellaPergola (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985*, forthcoming.

statistical tables appearing in this article are taken from the above-mentioned official sources (including some unpublished figures), unless stated otherwise.

The demography of Israel at the beginning of this period is described in Roberto Bachi's *The Population of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1977). Accounts of the demography of Jerusalem are contained in several articles written by the author.[*]

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The growth of major religious groups in Jerusalem between September 1967 and the end of 1985 can be seen from table 2. During that period the Jewish population grew more rapidly in Jerusalem than in the other two main cities (Tel Aviv and Haifa), their conurbations,* or the whole state (table 3). Accordingly, Jerusalem's share among all Jews in Israel increased somewhat from 8.3 percent in 1967 to 9.3 percent in 1985. This marked a reversal of the trend that had seen the continued reduction of Jerusalem's proportion during the Mandatory period and the first two decades of the state. Muslims, due to their high natural increase, grew relatively more than the other population groups in Jerusalem. The doubling of their size in the city during 1967–1985 corresponded to their rate of increase in the whole of Israel. The number of Christians in Jerusalem declined for some time after 1967 but then reversed itself, and is now back at the 1961 level (for both zones of the formerly partitioned city added together). In 1985 Jerusalem accounted for the following shares among Israel's population: total—10.7 percent; Jews—9.3 percent; Muslims—20.0 percent; and Christians—14.3 percent. (There are hardly any Druze in Jerusalem.) The city's proportion among Israel's total population increased from 9.7 percent in September 1967 to 10.7 percent at the end of 1985.

With regard to the characteristics and behavioral patterns of Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem, the influences of specific subgroups should be noted. Jerusalem's Muslims now include many ex-villagers whose localities were incorporated into the enlarged city territory in 1967, but whose adaptation to urban standards could not be other than gradual. In contrast, Jerusalem's Christian population includes a number of non-Arabs of considerable educational attainments, some of them ecclesiastical personnel, who are demographically atypical.

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[*]See the articles by U.O. Schmelz: "Jerusalem's Jewish Population in the Decade Since the City's Reunification," in U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 379–397; "Demography of Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem," *Hamizrah Hehadash*, vol. 28, no. 1–2, 1979, pp. 39–73 (Hebrew); "A United Jerusalem: Demographic Characteristics of the Main Population Groups," in A. Shmueli, D. Grossman, and R. Zeevy (eds.), *Judea and Samaria* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 467–478 (Hebrew).

*Conurbation: a metropolitan area.

It is generally agreed that nearly all of Jerusalem's Muslims are Arabs, but this is not the case with Christians. A rough estimate of the proportion of Arabs among the city's Christians can be obtained from the 1983 census data on language use. In the census, 68 percent of the Christian residents of Jerusalem aged 15 and over reported Arabic as their principal spoken language and can therefore be considered, virtually without exception, to be Arabs. Since the proportion of Arabs must be greater among Christian children than among Christian adults—because of the Arabs' greater fertility and the immigration of non-Arab adults (e.g., religious functionaries)—the proportion of Arabs among all Christians in Jerusalem is apparently above 70 percent.

Jerusalem is once again the city in Israel with both the largest total and Jewish populations. Jerusalem overtook Haifa in 1967; it outpaced Tel Aviv-Yafo around 1975 in total population size and in 1984 in the number of Jews. Population size in the city of Haifa has been almost stationary since the early 1970s, and the growth of the Haifa conurbation has also been moderate. The population of the city of Tel Aviv-Yafo has been slowly but steadily shrinking since the mid-1960s, due to persistent suburbanization involving residential moves to the surrounding towns. By contrast, by 1985 the conurbation of Tel Aviv—according to the wider delimitation adopted for the 1983 census—comprised 38 percent of Israel's total population and as many as 45 percent of Israel's Jews.

COMPONENTS OF POPULATION CHANGE

Table 4 analyzes the components of change in population size, and presents average annual rates for three subperiods of the entire span 1967–1985. Throughout these years Jews experienced stronger growth in Jerusalem than in the whole country and the two conurbations, especially that of Haifa, and the differences widened in the course of time. This was essentially due to higher rates of birth and natural increase in Jerusalem, which remained rather stable in the city, while declining somewhat in Israel as a whole and more markedly in the two conurbations. By 1983–1985 the natural increase of Jews in Jerusalem was twice as high as that in the Tel Aviv conurbation and three times as high as that in the Haifa conurbation.

The mortality of all Israel's Jews is very low in international comparison. The death rate for Jews per 1,000 of their population (all ages together) is now even lower in Jerusalem than in the other mentioned locations[9] because of the younger age composition of Jerusalem's Jews.

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[9]The term "locations" is used here in comparing Tel Aviv and Haifa (these cities alone or with their surrounding areas) and total Israel with Jerusalem.

Around 1970 the external migration balance was still important for Jewish population growth, and Jerusalem's relative increment thereof corresponded to that in the whole country. This was unlike the situation in previous decades when the city absorbed a smaller proportion of new immigrants than its share in Israel's Jewish population. The special appeal of reunited Jerusalem attracted immigrants, including those from Western countries. Over the last decade, however, *aliyah* has been no more than a secondary factor with regard to population growth in Jerusalem, as in Israel as a whole. Another change from the past was that, in the first decade after reunification, Jerusalem had a positive balance of internal migration vis-à-vis other localities in Israel, because of the transfer of certain government offices to the capital and generally improved conditions in the city. However, in the last ten years Jerusalem's internal migration balance has again become somewhat negative, though with a significant difference as compared with the past. In the earlier period it was the economic advantages in the coastal belt, particularly in Tel Aviv and its surrounding areas, that drained Jewish population away from Jerusalem. At present, a large segment of the out-migrants, especially young couples, move to satellite towns and smaller settlements in Judea and Samaria, some of which are just beyond the municipal boundaries, as part of a process of suburbanization to what are primarily dormitory localities. This reduces the growth in the number of inhabitants of Jerusalem proper, while furthering the processes of metropolitanization.

In the past decade, the not inconsiderable net growth of Jews in the municipal territory of Jerusalem—slightly above 2 percent per annum—has been entirely due to natural increase, whereas the overall migratory balance has been nil. Not only has the balance of the internal migrations of Jews within Israel been smaller, relative to population, in Jerusalem than in the Tel Aviv conurbation, but the volume (i.e., the sum of entrances and departures) has also been relatively lower in Jerusalem than in the two conurbations and the whole of Israel.

Non-Jews in Jerusalem, most of whom are Muslims, show greater natural increase than Jews, but the differential has narrowed from 36 versus 22 per 1,000 of population in 1972–1975 to 28 versus 22 in 1983–1985. The birthrate of Jerusalem's Jews has fluctuated at about 28 per 1,000 of population, whereas that of the city's non-Jews has declined from 44 to 32 in that interval. However, the relative drop in the death rate of the city's non-Jews has been even more striking—from at least 11 per 1,000 in the quinquennium after the city's reunification, and still 8 in 1972–1975, to only 4 by 1983–1985. The current death rate of Jerusalem's non-Jews is the same as that which prevails among Israel's non-Jews generally, and is, paradoxically, in both instances markedly lower than that of Jews, in consequence

of the non-Jews' much younger age structure. The registered infant mortality rate of non-Jews in Jerusalem was reduced from 68 per 1,000 live-born in 1972 to 21 by 1984.

The birthrate of Muslims declined from 47 per 1,000 of population in 1972–1975 to 36 in 1982–1984, and that of Christians from 22 to 15. Over the same years the death rate of Muslims dropped from 7 to 4 per 1,000 of population and that of the Christians from 11 to 9. This last figure, which is comparatively high, is indicative of aging among the Christian population in Jerusalem (see below). Analysis of the 1967 census suggests that, in the preceding years, of 1,000 Muslim newborn in East Jerusalem, 177 had died before reaching age 5; the corresponding figure for Christians was 131. In 1973–1975 the registered infant-mortality rates (deaths in the first year of life) for these communities were down to 54 and 26 per 1,000 live-born, respectively, and by 1982–1984 to only 21 and 15, compared to 11 among Jewish infants in Jerusalem.

FERTILITY

The substantial birthrate of Jerusalem's Jews has been due to their relatively elevated fertility level, which has been consistently higher than that in the whole country and especially that in Tel Aviv and Haifa. This is the case not only with regard to the total Jewish population but also when comparisons are made by region of birth (table 5). In this regard, interesting changes have taken place. For a long period the fertility ranking by birth region among Jews in Palestine/Israel was as follows: Asian-African-born; Israeli-born; and European-born. A fertility differential clearly existed between the Asian-African-born and the European-born, though on a generally diminishing scale, while the Israeli-born (who are of mixed origin) occupied an intermediate position, reflecting the tendency toward convergence. Beginning in the 1950s the fertility of the Israeli-born actually began to approach that of the European-born, at first because most were themselves of European origin and later for social reasons. This pattern continues to prevail in Israel as a whole, as well as in Tel Aviv and Haifa. In contrast, the fertility ranking in Jerusalem had changed by 1983, with the Israeli-born coming first, the European-born next, though at a considerable distance, and the Asian-African-born, last. In 1983 the total fertility rates (TFRs)[10] in Jerusalem of Israeli-born Jewish women whose fathers were born, respectively, in Israel or Europe stood as high as 4.37 and 4.23 children on

[10] "Total fertility rate" indicates the average number of children that a woman would bear during her lifetime if the age-specific fertility rates remained the same as in the year(s) under consideration. Under conditions of very low mortality, the "replacement level" is 2.1 children per woman (regardless of marital status).

average, while Israeli-born women with Asian-African fathers attained only 3.47. The main explanation lies in the greater fertility of very religious Jews, particularly the ultra-Orthodox,[11] and their strong representation in Jerusalem, especially among Jews of European birth or parentage, as well as among the Israeli-born whose fathers were also born in the country.

The striking fertility differences among Jerusalem's Jews according to degree of religiosity (when women's origin and age are controlled) and the high average levels of cumulative number of births attained by very religious women at ages 30–34 are illustrated in table 6, based on the results of three specific studies.[12] The data sugest that the completed fertility of the very religious was about 6 children, at least twice that of Jews of low religiosity. It was mainly this fact and the frequency of the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem which raised the fertility level of the city's total Jews by almost 30 percent above that in the whole of Israel, as of 1983. The data also seem to point to a rising fertility trend among the very religious of European origin.

According to the 1967 census of East Jerusalem, the average completed fertility of 45–49-year-old married women was as follows: Muslim—9.7; Christian—6.0. The total fertility rate of all Muslim women in Jerusalem amounted to 7.5 in 1972, but only 4.9 in 1983; the corresponding figures for all Christians (Arabs and others) were 2.8 in 1972, but merely 1.8—i.e., below replacement level—in 1983. Thus, the fertility of Muslims and total non-Jews in Jerusalem, as in the whole of Israel, is now below that of the very religious Jews in Jerusalem, while Christian fertility in Israel and especially in Jerusalem falls short of that of total Jews.

Demographic Characteristics

COUNTRIES OF BIRTH AND ORIGIN

The percentage of Israeli-born among Jews continues to be greater in Jerusalem than in the whole state, or in Tel Aviv and Haifa, or in the entire conurbations of these two cities (table 7). However, the respective differences have narrowed. By 1983, 63 percent of Jerusalem's Jews were native-born. This proportion is continually increasing, particularly since *aliyah* is low at present. Of Jerusalem's Israeli-born Jews, 38 percent, considerably

[11]For the ultra-Orthodox, see the discussion below.

[12]Ecological studies for 1970–1974 and 1983, respectively, compared fertility in areas of varying religiosity in Jerusalem, as indicated by the percentages of votes cast for religious parties in parliamentary elections. An interview study of maternity cases, conducted in 1975–1976 by Professors M. Davis and S. Harlap, made it possible to investigate differential fertility according to selected religious behaviors (e.g., woman going to the *mikveh*, husband being a yeshivah student or rabbi). Cf. footnote 7.

more than in the other mentioned locations, had fathers who were also born in the country; they constituted 24 percent of Jerusalem's total Jews. In contrast, the proportion of the foreign-born is generally receding, owing to the substantial level of natural increase among Jews in Israel, especially in Jerusalem, and the great reduction in *aliyah.* The latter reason applies with particular force to the Asian-African-born, who have been a minority of *olim* (immigrants) during the last two decades. In 1972, the Asian-African-born were still a slight majority of the foreign-born Jews in Jerusalem, but a minority in the whole state and especially in the two conurbations. By 1983, owing to the preponderantly European-American provenance of the immigration since 1972, the Asian-African-born had turned into a minority among the foreign-born in all the locations mentioned, and their proportions were rather similar in Jerusalem, the Tel Aviv conurbation, and the whole state, though far smaller in the Haifa conurbation.

Table 7 also shows the geographical origin of Jews, i.e., their distribution according to personal birth region of the foreign-born or father's birth region for the Israeli-born. However, "Israeli origin"—i.e., the Israeli-born whose fathers were also born in the country—is really an indeterminate group (since the censuses did not ask about birthplace of grandfather). If it is set aside and origin is examined only for the two generations for which it could be geographically ascertained from the census—the foreign-born and the Israeli-born whose fathers were born abroad—we find that in 1983 the Asian-African-origin group exceeded the European group[13] in Jerusalem and the whole of Israel, but not in the Tel Aviv and Haifa conurbations. By 1983 the Europeans had surpassed in numbers the Asian-Africans among *foreign-born* Jews in Jerusalem—as in the Mandatory period and unlike in 1961 and 1972—but Europeans remained a minority according to *origin,* because of their lower fertility in the past. Jews who were born in Asia or were of Asian origin continued to be more numerous in Jerusalem than corresponding Jews from Africa.

The relative share of persons born in Central and Western Europe or America among all the European-American-born Jews continued to be much greater in Jerusalem than in the other locations. In 1983 the breakdown was as follows: Jerusalem—54 percent; Tel Aviv conurbation—24 percent; Haifa conurbation—21 percent; and State of Israel—28 percent.

Table 8 illustrates the present heterogeneity of Jerusalem's and Israel's Jewish population with regard to geographical origin. The following

[13]Jews from America (or Australia) have been relatively few in numbers in Palestine/Israel, especially prior to the Six Day War, and most have themselves been of European extraction. Therefore they are usually grouped together with Jews from Europe in the available statistics. When, for simplicity's sake, the text of this article refers to "European Jews," American Jews are meant to be included.

countries of birth each accounted for more than 5 percent of the foreign-born Jews in Jerusalem, according to the 1983 census: Morocco—14.2 percent; USSR—11.7 percent; North America and Oceania—10.5 percent; Iraq—8.8 percent; Rumania—7.3 percent; Iran—7.2 percent; and Poland —7.1 percent. All these countries recurred with a representation of at least 5 percent in the origin distribution of both the foreign-born and the Israeli-born with foreign-born fathers. In comparing countries of origin of the Israeli-born with birth countries of the foreign-born, the above-mentioned Asian-African countries had augmented frequencies, whereas the USSR, Rumania, and North America-Oceania had reduced frequencies. This can be explained by differences in the proportions of Israeli-born—due to disparities in length of residence in Israel and past fertility—among those originating in the two groups of countries.

The frequency distribution of countries of birth and origin of Jews in Jerusalem largely corresponded to that in the whole of Israel, except that the latter included Yemen (above 5 percent only according to origin) but did not include either Iran or North America and Oceania. While Jews born in North America-Oceania amounted to only 2.6 percent of all the foreign-born in Israel, they were as many as 10.5 percent of the foreign-born in Jerusalem. By contrast, Polish and Rumanian Jews were far less represented in Jerusalem than in Israel as a whole.

Foreign-born Jews are differentiated not only by countries/continents of birth and their correlates—e.g., fertility and educational attainment (see below)—but also by years of immigration (table 9). The difference between time of arrival and any later date, e.g., that of a census, indicates the remaining immigrants' duration of stay in Israel. Since its reunification, Jerusalem has exercised a special attraction for new immigrants; consequently, they have formed a larger share of all foreign-born Jews there than in the other two main cities and the respective conurbations, or in Israel as a whole. This applies to arrivals since 1965 in the censuses of both 1972 and 1983. For every 100 foreign-born Jews in Israel in 1983, the proportions of those who had arrived only since 1965 were 23 and 25 percent, respectively, in the conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa, 27 percent in total Israel, but as high as 38 percent in Jerusalem. The most recent immigrants, those who had arrived during the time span 1980–May 1983, accounted for 3.6 percent of Israel's Jewish population and 8.2 percent of Jerusalem's. In keeping with the general composition of the immigrants since 1965 by provenance, 81 percent of the post-1965 arrivals who resided in Jerusalem in 1983 had come from Europe or America. Conversely, immigrants who had come since 1965 constituted nearly 54 percent of all the European-American-born in Jerusalem as compared to only 22 percent of all the African-born, and 13 percent of all the Asian-born. In Jerusalem, as of 1983, 58 percent of the Asian-born

had arrived during 1948–1954, and 74 percent of the African-born during 1948–1964.

AGE

The age structure of Muslims in Jerusalem, as in Israel as a whole, is younger than that of Jews. In turn, the age composition of Jews in Jerusalem is younger than that of Christians in the city and the whole country, as well as Jews in Israel and in the two conurbations. This can be easily seen from table 10 by comparing the median ages of the various populations. In all the populations presented in that table, the median age rose somewhat from 1972 to 1983. This was largely due, especially among Jerusalem's Jews, to a diminished proportion in ages 15–24 and an augmented one in ages 25–34. Many of those who were around age 20 in 1972, and thus around age 30 in 1983, had been born about 1950, when the natural increase of Asian-African Jews was very high and European Jews were experiencing a baby boom. In contrast, those who were around age 20 in 1983 were born about 1960, when the natural increase of Jews was generally lower. In 1972 and 1983, the proportion (31–32 percent) of children aged 0–14 among Jerusalem's Jews had shrunk somewhat, as compared to earlier periods, but continued to be larger than in the other mentioned locations. Unlike in the past, Jerusalem's proportion of elderly (aged 65+) was smaller than in the rest of Israel, though it rose a little, as it did generally in the country—in Jerusalem, from 7.4 percent in 1972 to 8.7 percent in 1983. The dependency ratio among Jerusalem's Jews—i.e., the ratio of young dependents (aged 0–19) plus elderly (65+) to the number of persons in the productive ages (20–64)—increased from 95 per 100 in 1972 to 98 per 100 in 1983. This rise was similar to that for Israel's total Jews, but the actual ratios were somewhat higher in Jerusalem.

Israeli-born Jews as a group are much younger than the foreign-born, since any children born in Israel to the latter are classified among the Israeli-born. The age composition of the foreign-born in Israel is thus influenced not only by their own ages at arrival, but also by the duration of their stay in Israel. A group that receives few migratory reinforcements must age rapidly, since its Israeli-born children are not classified together with their parents, and because of the cumulative effects of mortality and emigration. If the four main origin groups of Jews (combining the foreign-born and Israeli-born) are compared, the Israeli-origin group is by far the youngest—58 percent children below age 15 in Jerusalem in 1983—because it is composed of Israeli-born persons only. The Asian- and especially the African-origin groups are younger than the European-, in accordance with the former's greater fertility in the past. The proportions of the origin

groups among Jews vary with age. Israeli origin is most represented among children—44 percent at ages 0–14 in Jerusalem as of 1983. Conversely, persons of European origin account for a large share of the elderly—63 percent at ages 65 and over in Jerusalem as of 1983. Altogether, 93 percent of the 0–14-year-old Jewish children in the city were Israeli-born (regardless of origin).

Similarly, the proportions of the religious groups—Jewish, Muslim, and Christian—vary with age, in keeping with their different levels of fertility and migration. In Jerusalem, as of 1983, Jews formed 71 percent of the total population, but only 64 percent of the children and as many as 83 percent of the elderly. The corresponding figures for Muslims were 25 percent, 33 percent, and 12 percent, respectively, while for Christians they were 3.3 percent, 2.4 percent, and 4.6 percent. The age composition of Muslims is similarly young in Jerusalem and in the whole of Israel, whereas Christians are more aged in Jerusalem than in Israel as a whole (median ages of 29.4 and 23.8 years, respectively, in 1983).

The demographic characteristics of Jerusalem's total population are, of course, weighted averages of those of the city's Jews and non-Jews, respectively, and, with regard to the latter, especially, of the predominant Muslims. In terms of age structure, Jerusalem's population as a whole is more youthful than that of local Jews, but less so than that of the Muslims.

SEX

The sex composition of all Jews in Jerusalem, the conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa, and the whole of Israel, as well as of all Muslims in Jerusalem, was fairly balanced (49–51 percent males) as of 1983; only Christians had a marked surplus of women in Jerusalem, as they did in the whole state (table 11). There was a surplus of boys among the children of all these populations, according to the biologically determined sex ratio at the time of birth.[14] Similarly, the surplus of women among the elderly that was found in all the populations compared has an essentially biological foundation in the age-specifically lower mortality of females. Among adults aged 15–64, the excess of women in all the Jewish groups compared was slight, but marked among the Christians. The excess of adult Christian women, especially among the elderly in Jerusalem, is probably due to greater out-migration of men in the past and some in-migration of women,[15] as well. The absolute differences were 5,651 women to 4,410 men among all Jerusalem Christians aged 15 and over in 1983. The majority of the

[14]Slightly more boys than girls are born in human populations, so that one usually finds a male surplus among children.

[15]Including the wives of some religiously mixed immigrant couples.

Israeli-born Jews in Jerusalem were males (51.4 percent as of 1983), since nearly half of them were children below age 15; in contrast, foreign-born Jews, who were overwhelmingly adults and included 21 percent elderly, had a minority (47.2 percent) of males.

MARITAL STATUS

Regarding marital status (ages 15 and over), in 1983 the proportions of single persons of both sexes in different population groups ranked in the following ascending order: Jews in Israel; Jews in Jerusalem; Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem (table 12). The proportions of the currently married tended to diminish inversely. Two major determinants operate directly in this context: age structure and marriage patterns (the propensity to marry and age at first marriage). There were relatively more single persons among the enumerated Jews in Jerusalem than in the whole state, both in 1972 and 1983, because their age composition was younger and because they married later and were somewhat more likely to not marry at all. This can be seen from their lower sex-age-specific proportions of ever-married persons, especially among women, in table 13. Generally, there has been some rise in marriage age and some decrease in the propensity for marriage among Israel's Jews since the late 1970s. The greater proportion of highly educated persons in Jerusalem (see below), as well as opportunities for professional and clerical jobs in public services in the city, which give economic independence to many young women, have perhaps influenced the reduction in the age-specific proportions of the ever-married that has been observable among Jews there.[16]

It may seem paradoxical that the sex-age-specific proportions of the ever-married among Jews declined from 1972 to 1983 among Jews in Jerusalem, as in the whole of Israel (table 13), while some reduction took place in the overall share of single persons among adult Jews in each sex (table 12), meaning that the overall share of the ever-married actually rose. The apparent contradiction is explainable by shifts in age composition, especially with regard to the principal marriageable ages, between approximately 20 and 30 (see above). In Jerusalem, had the age composition of 1972 remained unchanged, the percent single among all Jewish men would have risen to 37.8 percent by 1983; instead, the percent single actually shrank from 35.4 percent to 34.6 percent. Similarly, the corresponding figures for Jewish women in Jerusalem were 28.3 percent in 1972 and 26.6 percent in 1983, but the proportion single rises to 30.5 percent for the latter year when the data are age-standardized.

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[16]The underrepresentation of the ultra-Orthodox in population censuses (cf. footnote 3) must be remembered in this context. The marriage age of the ultra-Orthodox is low.

The larger proportions of single persons among the Muslims of Jerusalem, compared to the Jews, were decisively due to younger age composition, since the Muslims' marriage age was earlier than that of the Jews (which factor operated in the opposite direction). About 1983, the marriage age of Muslim women was even lower in Jerusalem, despite its urban character, than in the whole of Israel. Among the populations here compared, Christians in Jerusalem had the highest shares of single persons, the aging of their population notwithstanding (cf. table 10). This was due to later marriage age and to the unusual frequency of permanent celibacy among clergy, monks and nuns, and other religiously minded Christians who spurned marriage.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE

The average number of persons per private household was greater in the Jewish population of Jerusalem than in the whole state and the conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa. In a comparison by religion, average household size in Jerusalem was in the following descending order: Muslims; Christians; Jews (table 14). Greater household size is strongly connected with high fertility, though other factors—such as age structure of the population, marriage age of the younger generation, and patterns of coresidence—also play a role. Recorded household size generally decreased between the 1972 and 1983 censuses—except among Jerusalem's Muslims—but this was in part due to a downward bias in the 1983 census results (caused by a change in the enumeration technique). Whereas households of 6 or more persons were a limited minority among Jewish households, they still were 56 percent of all Muslim households in Jerusalem as of 1983. On the other hand, one-person households have been relatively more numerous among Jerusalem's Jews and Christians than among the city's Muslims and Israel's total Jews.

For all the religious groups of Jerusalem, average household size increases with age of household head up to a peak at about ages 40–49, due to family formation and growth; at later ages of the household head it decreases, because of residential separation of grown-up children and eventual instances of widowhood. Households in Jerusalem headed by women are a minority; in 1983 they were found in the following proportions: total population—22 percent; Jews—23 percent; Muslims—15 percent; and Christians—33 percent. Among Jews, average household size was greatest if the head was born in Asia or Africa (averages of 3.8–3.9 persons) and lowest for the European-born (2.7). This difference was due mainly to the much greater fertility of the former group in the past, but it was also influenced by disparities in the age distribution of the respective household

heads. At any rate, the difference has considerably narrowed in the course of time.

As a religious and educational center, Jerusalem has comparatively greater percentages of persons who live in institutions than is usual in Israel; the 1983 figures for Jerusalem were as follows: total population—4.5 percent; Jews—5.4 percent; Muslims—1.2 percent; and Christians—9.7 percent.

Sociocultural Characteristics

EDUCATION

Jerusalem's Jews formerly comprised greater proportions both of illiterates and of highly educated persons than the Jews of Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Israel as a whole. The first difference has disappeared: in 1983 the percentage of Jews with 0–4 years of schooling was even slightly lower in Jerusalem than in the other locations. However, a considerably greater share of highly educated persons among Jerusalem's Jews persists (table 15). It is connected in part with the prominence of public services in the city, since the professional positions, and by now usually the upper positions in administrative services, require higher education.

There has been great educational progress in Jerusalem generally, as in Israel as a whole, over the past 20–25 years. The percentage of adults in Jerusalem with 0–4 years of schooling dropped from 1961 (1967 for non-Jews) to 1972 and 1983, as follows: Jews—19 percent, 11 percent, and 7 percent; Muslims—50 percent, 44 percent, and 27 percent; and Christians—25 percent, 26 percent, and 11 percent. Conversely, the share of persons with 13 or more years of study rose as follows: Jews—19 percent, 26 percent, and 35 percent; Muslims—4 percent, 5 percent, and 13 percent; and Christians—10 percent, 12 percent, and 27 percent.

Educational attainment is, on the whole, inversely related to age, since there has been a marked trend toward improved education for the young over time. However, the proviso must be added that the almost complete shares of persons with 13+ years of schooling—and even more so with 16 + years or academic degrees—are reached only after age 30. Changes in the educational distribution of an adult population are slowed down by the fact that education is usually acquired in childhood and in the earlier adult ages. Almost all persons beyond these ages at the time of any given census preserve their respective educational attainments for many decades until their eventual decease. Thus, an adult population's educational level is raised mainly by the replacement of the less educated elderly, who die, by more educated young persons, whereas its improvement is retarded by the

educational inertia of persons beyond early adulthood. The process is accelerated if the population has high natural increase, so that relatively many youngsters join the adult sector. This demographic factor, together with the existence of compulsory schooling, explains the rapid decrease in the share of uneducated persons among Jerusalem's Muslims. It also implies that the educational distribution of any population may be considerably influenced by age structure. We therefore present in table 15A age-standardized data on the respective educational attainments of the principal population groups in Jerusalem as of 1983.

Aside from the educational differentials between the total of Jews and the other religious groups, especially Muslims, there are differentials among Jews themselves. Lack of or low education is now mainly confined to aging women born in Asia-Africa. Even among those with 13+ years of study, there is still a marked gap between the European-origin group, where a majority has attained this level, and the other Jewish groups according to origin and place of birth (abroad or in Israel). Another relevant factor used to be sex differences in education, particularly for persons belonging to Islamic societies or who had lived in them. According to the 1967 census, a majority (62 percent) of Muslim women in Jerusalem had little or no schooling (0–4 years of study). The corresponding proportions were 65 percent of all Jewish women born in Asia-Africa who had immigrated as adults, and even above 90 percent for Yemenite Jewish women, according to Israel's 1961 census. By 1983, the percentages of persons with 0–4 years of schooling among Jerusalem's Muslims aged 15–24 were already low and with little sex differential: males—4.6 percent; females—6.0 percent. Such differentials do, however, persist among the entire population of adult Muslims (tables 15 and 15A), because of the above-explained slowing effect.

In 1983, 17 percent of adult Jews in Jerusalem (both sexes together) held academic degrees, as compared to 13 percent among Christians and only 6 percent among Muslims. The corresponding proportions for Jews aged 25–34 or 35–44 were 26 percent and 27 percent, respectively; 13 percent of Jews at the latter age had postgraduate degrees.

LANGUAGE USE

In a society that is heterogeneous in terms of its members' geographical origins, the use of many languages signifies differentiation, whereas use of a *lingua franca* is one of the mechanisms of societal integration. In Israel, there are several *linguae francae:* Hebrew and Arabic, various international languages, and widespread Jewish Diaspora tongues such as Yiddish or Ladino. The 1983 census contained the question "What language(s) do you speak daily?" and up to two languages per person could be registered. Table

16 shows what percentages of adult Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Jerusalem used any of the more common languages as principal tongue or at all (i.e., as principal or second tongue) in daily speech.

The successful revival of Hebrew as a living language and its practical use as the national language of Israel's Jews is generally recognized as a remarkable cultural achievement. In 1983, as many as 84 percent of adult Jews in Jerusalem reported Hebrew as their principal spoken language. This left limited room for Hebrew as a second language of Jews, and in fact English and Arabic were somewhat more frequent in this capacity. In all, 50 percent of Jews reported everyday use of a second language. Arabic, English, French, Spanish, and Russian may have been either the mother tongue of Jews who migrated from countries where one of these was the national language, or they were used in Israel as relatively frequent media of communication with others who were familiar with one of these languages. Yiddish is, of course, an international Jewish language, though its use has much decreased compared to that of the national languages in countries where Jews live, including Hebrew in Israel. Spanish includes the traditional Judeo-Spanish, i.e., Ladino; the two variants could not be distinguished in the census returns because the same Hebrew word, if not qualified by additional terms, may mean either of them.

Among the other somewhat common everyday languages of Jerusalem's Jews, several groups can be distinguished: Rumanian, Persian, and Bokharian serve, among others, new immigrants; German and Hungarian are used by immigrant groups of long standing in Israel, but who, according to the findings of recurrent studies, evince less propensity than others to abandon the everyday use of their mother tongues; and the same apparently applies to speakers of Kurdish. A noteworthy feature of the recent linguistic situation of Jews in Israel, and for that matter in Jerusalem, is the near disappearance of Polish as an everyday language.

In 1983 all adult Jews in Jerusalem were distributed as follows, according to everyday speaking of Hebrew (in percent): as only language—44.8 percent; as first language—39.4 percent; as second language—9.7 percent; no Hebrew—6.1 percent. The differences between the sexes were limited; 87 percent of Jewish men and 82 percent of Jewish women spoke Hebrew as the principal language. Everyday use of Hebrew as either the only or as the first language depends not only on personal predilection but also on surroundings, e.g., the need to communicate in another language with elderly relatives, or to speak at work with new immigrants, foreign-business relations, or Arabs. While Hebrew is now the principal language of virtually all Israeli-born Jews of either sex (98 percent in Jerusalem as of 1983 for both sexes together), it is not as prominent among the foreign-born (71 percent). Among the latter its use decreases in the more advanced age

groups and is somewhat smaller among women than men. These distinctions prevail in Jerusalem as in the whole of Israel. Research has shown that the transition to use of Hebrew—in general or principally—is facilitated for foreign-born Jews not only by increasing duration of stay in Israel but also by lower age at arrival, in particular since immigrant children receive their schooling in Hebrew. Moreover, transition to Hebrew by foreign-born Jews is facilitated by higher education and participation in the labor force. Sex differences in the latter respect largely account for the limited overall differential that does exist between the sexes in everyday use of Hebrew.[17]

Muslims in Jerusalem speak almost exclusively Arabic as the first language. English somewhat exceeded Hebrew among the relatively few—only 19 percent—who reported a second everyday language in 1983. The reported extent of Hebrew speaking among Muslims, virtually always as second language, is markedly lower in Jerusalem (9 percent) than in the whole of Israel (30 percent). While it is true that the Muslims of Jerusalem have lived in the Israeli context for a shorter time than those elsewhere in the state, the 17 years from the Six Day War to the 1983 census were a not inconsiderable period. Additional reasons for the difference may therefore be sought in other considerations. For one thing, the census question did not relate to knowledge or intermittent use, but to daily speaking of languages; opportunity for this is limited, since the rather compact body of non-Jews in Jerusalem (more than 100,000 by 1983), with the Arabs of Judea surrounding them, lead a largely self-contained existence, economically as well as culturally. Another consideration is that Jerusalem's Jews comprise a sizable share from Arabic-speaking countries as well as many adults among the long-established Ashkenazi families who know some Arabic, while many of the younger Jewish generation learned it at school.[18] As elsewhere among Muslims in Israel, daily speaking of Hebrew in Jerusalem, though nearly always as a second language, was most frequent among young men, for work-related reasons—22 percent at ages 25–34.

Among Jerusalem's Christians, as of 1983, 78 percent spoke Arabic, 68 percent as a first language, and 10 percent as a second language, while 54 percent used a second daily language. Hebrew was reportedly used by more than 12 percent of all Christians in Jerusalem and by 18 percent of 25–34-year-old men, mostly as a second language. Non-Arab Christians are very

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[17] Roberto Bachi, "A Statistical Analysis of the Revival of Hebrew in Israel," in R. Bachi (ed.), *Studies in Social Sciences* (Jerusalem, 1956), Scripta Hierosolymitana, vol. 3, pp. 179–247; U.O. Schmelz and R. Bachi, "Hebrew as Everyday Language of the Jews in Israel—Statistical Appraisal," in *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 745–785; U.O. Schmelz, "New Immigrants' Progress in Hebrew—Statistical Data from Israel," in *Contemporary Jewry—Studies in Honor of Moshe Davis* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 191–216.

[18] The possibility of some reporting bias against Hebrew by Arab nationalists in Jerusalem also cannot be ruled out.

heterogeneous as to provenance, and numerous Arab Christians have affinities, economic or cultural, to foreign institutions. Thus, other not infrequent languages in daily use by Christians were English, to a far lesser extent French, and, indicative of specific national communities, Armenian and Greek.

Labor-Force Characteristics

PARTICIPATION IN LABOR FORCE

Of the 278,000 Jerusalem residents aged 15 and over in 1983, 143,600 (or 52 percent for both sexes together) participated in the civilian labor force. The corresponding percentages, by religious group, were as follows: Jews —57 percent; Muslims—34 percent; and Christians—38 percent (table 17). These differences are largely explained by the low labor-force participation of Arab women (see below), but dissimilarities in age structure also play an important role. Thus, Muslims at ages 15 and over include comparatively many adolescents who do not yet work, while Christians are an aging group.

In measuring the labor force active in Jerusalem, commuting must also be taken into account. This is mainly of two types: by Israelis commuting between Jerusalem and other localities and by Arabs commuting from the administered areas. Of the total labor force of Israeli inhabitants, 90 percent gave identifiable returns to the question on locale of employment in the 1983 census. Among them, while the overall numbers of Jerusalemites commuting elsewhere and of inhabitants of other localities commuting to Jerusalem virtually equaled out at 8 percent, there was a somewhat positive balance for Jerusalem among Jews and a somewhat negative balance among non-Jews.[19] The extent of commuting to Jerusalem by Jews may be on the increase as residential moves to dormitory localities outside the municipal boundaries continue. In addition, sample surveys carried out in the administered areas in 1984–1985 yielded information on about 17,000–18,000 Arabs from these areas working in Jerusalem.

The participation of Jewish men in the labor force was somewhat smaller in Jerusalem, both in 1972 and 1983, than in the conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa, as well as in the whole of Israel (table 17). The difference was, partly at least, connected with more prolonged study (university, yeshivah, etc.) among Jerusalem's Jewish young men. However, both in 1972 and 1983, labor-force participation of Jewish women was distinctly greater in Jerusalem than in the other mentioned locations, especially the two conurbations. This in turn is related to the particular prominence of public services in Jerusalem, which offer professional and clerical occupations

[19]About 2,000 non-Jewish residents of Jerusalem worked in the administered areas.

convenient to women. (Mention should be made in this context that the proportion of those employed part-time among the Jewish labor force—both sexes together—is greater in Jerusalem than in the conurbations and total Israel.) Labor-force participation of women increased in the interval between the 1972 and 1983 censuses. By the latter year half of Jerusalem's Jewish women aged 15 and over were in the labor force. However, between the two censuses the proportion of labor-force participants among men dropped slightly in Jerusalem and the other mentioned locations. As for Jews of both sexes together, the percentage in the labor force was somewhat greater in Jerusalem than in the other locations, due to the influence of the local women, and the respective differences widened from 1972 to 1983.

The labor-force participation of Muslim and especially Christian men in Jerusalem was somewhat smaller than that of Jewish men. Christians are, as already noted, a comparatively aging group, of whom a not negligible proportion live in institutions and engage in religious pursuits only. The labor-force participation of Christian and especially of Muslim women, as reported in the censuses, was very low. Insofar as Muslim women are concerned, this is partly attributable to the large number of children that they have, on average, as well as to their low educational attainment, which bars them from many occupations. More generally, though, it reflects the customary tendency of Arab society, especially in the urban sector, not to allow women to work outside the home. Christian women are better educated, which qualifies not a few of them for professional jobs in the Arab sector; in Jerusalem, however, they are a comparatively aged group and some fulfill only religious tasks outside the labor force. In part, the low labor-force participation of Arab women, as measured by censuses and surveys, is probably due to a downward reporting bias, since, for the just mentioned social reasons, it is difficult to elicit information about Arab women's "work" (apart from accepted domestic tasks).

In Jerusalem, as elsewhere in Israel, labor-force participation rises after ages 15–24, when a great many individuals are still exclusively engaged in studies or, among Jews, perform their compulsory military service for several years; it decreases again in advanced ages, and earlier among women than men. In the 1983 census, at the peak ages 35–54, 92–94 percent of Jewish men in Jerusalem belonged to the annual labor force; the corresponding peak proportion for Jewish women in the city was 74 percent at ages 25–34. Age-standardized percentages of labor-force participation in 1983 show rather small differences among Jewish men according to origin and birthplace (table 17A).

ECONOMIC BRANCHES AND OCCUPATIONS

The mainstay of Jerusalem's economy continues to be public services (administrative and professional). The proportion of those employed in

public services among the city's Jewish labor force, as divided by economic branch, was as follows in 1972: total—49 percent; men—39.5 percent; women—64.5 percent. The corresponding figures for 1983 were as follows: total—49 percent; men—38 percent; women—62 percent.[20] These percentages far exceeded the corresponding ones in the Tel Aviv and Haifa conurbations and in Israel as a whole (table 18). The relative share of public-service employment among Christians in Jerusalem is similar to that among Jews, also for each sex separately. The corresponding figures for total Muslims and for Muslim men are much lower; the respective figure for employed Muslim women is high, but relates to a very small group (see above). Altogether, 46 percent of Jerusalem's total labor force was employed in public services as of 1983. Among Jews employed in Jerusalem, the proportion in public services is greatest at middle age, and for men at a somewhat higher middle age than for women. Age-standardized data show the highest percentages employed in this branch in the European-origin group, with origin-specific differences greater among men than women (table 18A).

Industrial establishments are rarer in Jerusalem, relative to population, than in the two conurbations and in the country as a whole. Moreover, those that exist have relatively fewer workers and less output (in money terms).[21] In consequence, industry in Jerusalem accounted for only about half the share of the employed—11 percent in 1983—that it did in the other mentioned locations. In Jerusalem, 16 percent of all employed men, but only 6 percent of all women, worked in industry. According to age-standardized data, employment in industry was for either sex somewhat more frequent among foreign-born than among Israeli-born Jews. Industry, including crafts, accounted for somewhat larger shares among employed Muslims and Christians than among Jews in Jerusalem.

Nearly a quarter of the 1983 labor force was engaged in commerce and finance in Jerusalem, with little difference by religious group. Nor were there great differences in this respect between Jerusalem, the conurbations, and Israel as a whole. But the share of commerce, as distinct from finance, was greater among employed Muslims and Christians than among Jews in Jerusalem, and greater among Jewish men than Jewish women. The persons employed in commerce were comparatively aged. According to age-standardized data for Jews, commerce was particularly frequent among Asian-born men.

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[20]The increased labor-force participation of women as of 1983 explains why the proportion employed in public services did not change in the total Jewish labor force (both sexes together), compared to 1972, though it receded slightly for each of the sexes if they are considered separately.

[21]As substantiated by surveys of industry carried out by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.

Relatively more Muslim men worked in construction than did Jews or Christians. Insofar as this relates to manual labor, it is connected to the existing educational differentials. A large proportion of workers from the administered areas were also employed in Jerusalem in the construction of buildings and roads.

With regard to personal occupation, Jerusalem's Jews have a greater share of academic and other professional workers, and of managers, than the two conurbations and the whole country (table 19). The differences are much smaller with regard to clerical workers. As of 1983, all these white-collar occupations together accounted for 63 percent of employed Jews resident in Jerusalem; the corresponding figures for men and women were 54 and 75 percent, respectively, some rise having occurred for each sex since 1972. Age-standardized data show higher proportions for the total of these white-collar occupations and for their upper bracket (academic, other professional, and managerial) per 100 employed of European-origin than of Asian-African origin, of each sex (table 19A). The ranking of the two origin groups was reversed with regard to the frequency of clerical occupations among them, while Jews of Israeli origin occupied an intermediate position in both respects.

In contrast, skilled workers in industry, building, and transport constituted far smaller percentages among the employed Jews of Jerusalem than in the other mentioned locations, in keeping with the city's limited industrial development. The occupational distribution of employed Christians in Jerusalem somewhat resembled that of Jews, though with smaller proportions in academic and managerial jobs. The distribution of Muslims, however, who are a far less educated group, was quite different; nearly 40 percent were skilled, and nearly 10 percent unskilled, manual workers.

The overwhelming majority of the labor force in Israel is made up of employees. The distribution by employment status in Jerusalem as of 1983 was as follows: employees—87.9 percent; self-employed—7.4 percent; employers—3.3 percent; others—1.5 percent. There were no great differences in this respect between religious groups, except that non-Jews had somewhat more self-employed persons and fewer employers than did Jews. The proportion of employees was even greater among women who participated in the labor force than among men.

About 40 percent of the non-Jews who both resided and worked in Jerusalem were employed in predominantly Jewish subquarters of the city, insofar as this is ascertainable from the 1983 census.[22] In addition, a

[22]The 1983 census data on this topic are deficient and can only be used with reservation. Among Jerusalem's employed non-Jews, 21 percent did not report the locality where they were working (though it is obvious that this was mostly Jerusalem); and of those who indicated that they were working in Jerusalem, 20 percent did not report a sufficiently detailed address for identification of the particular subquarter.

significant proportion of Arabs from the administered areas, particularly Judea, who were working in Jerusalem, were hired by Jews or for public-housing projects and road construction in Jewish neighborhoods.

Living Conditions

Considerable improvement in living conditions took place between 1972 and 1983 among Jerusalem's Jews and non-Jews, as well as in the two conurbations and in Israel as a whole. When comparing the respective census data in table 20, it should be remembered that the areas of the Tel Aviv and Haifa conurbations, as defined for statistical purposes, were widened in the 1983 census.

HOUSING

In 1983, 23 percent of Jewish households in Jerusalem and rather similar percentages in the other mentioned locations lived in apartments that had been built as recently as 1975 and after. This usually implied more modern dwelling facilities and, if a whole neighborhood was newly constructed, improved amenities. The corresponding figures for Jerusalem's non-Jews were much lower. However, Jerusalem's Jews exceeded those of the other locations in the share of households that had moved since 1975 into the apartments which they occupied in June 1983. The respective share in Jerusalem—55 percent—implied, on the whole, not only rapid residential mobility but also upward socioeconomic mobility. The corresponding figure —42 percent—for Jerusalem's non-Jews was also very considerable for a span of only 8½ years.

Small dwellings of up to two rooms became much less frequent in all locations from 1972 to 1983; at the latter date, they accommodated about a quarter of the Jewish households in Jerusalem, the conurbations, and the whole of Israel, but still constituted upward of half the dwellings of Jerusalem's non-Jews. On the other hand, large apartments of four rooms or more had become more common. By 1983 they amounted to roughly similar proportions—around 20 percent—in all the mentioned locational and religious categories. The average number of persons per dwelling room had been reduced to about 1 in all the mentioned locational categories of Jews, but remained more than 2 among the non-Jews of Jerusalem. In 1983 a dwelling density of less than 1 person per room was found in about 40 percent of Jewish households in Jerusalem, the conurbations, and Israel as a whole, whereas it was rare among the city's Muslims.

The proportion of households that owned the apartments they lived in showed an increase. In 1983 between two-thirds and three-quarters of the households in all the mentioned categories owned the apartments in which they were enumerated, except for Christians in Jerusalem, many

of whom resided in buildings that were the property of institutions. Apartments with at least two lavatories, which were more likely to be found in recently erected buildings, were somewhat more frequently inhabited by Jewish households in Jerusalem than in the other locations, as of 1983.

STANDARD OF LIVING

Possession of telephones and cars had much increased between the two censuses. Both in 1972 and 1983, Jerusalem's Jewish households resembled those in the other mentioned locations regarding possession of one or more cars, and in this respect far surpassed the non-Jewish households in the city. Whereas by 1983 telephones were very common in Jerusalem's Jewish households, they were comparatively rare among Muslims, with Christians in an intermediate position.

Because of Israel's strong inflation between 1972 and 1983, household incomes reported in the two censuses cannot be compared in direct money terms. Also, the approach for measuring income was different in the two censuses—gross annual income in 1972 and net monthly income in 1983—though in either case the published figures related to households of employees only. For these reasons, table 20 presents index numbers showing the relative differences in income between the various locational and religious categories and between Israel's total Jewish employee-headed households at the time of each census. The data suggest that the income differentials—per household and especially per capita—between the categories that are compared in the table narrowed during 1972–1983.[23] According to the 1983 census, the mean net monthly income per standard person in households headed by employees—who are the overwhelming majority of Israel's labor force (see above)—was similar among Jews in Jerusalem, the conurbations, and the whole of Israel. Taking the countrywide figures as the basis (= 100.0), the index numbers for respective locations were as follows: Jerusalem—104; Tel Aviv conurbation—106; Haifa conurbation—108. The corresponding incomes were much lower among Christians and especially Muslims in Jerusalem: 54 and 35, respectively. The low level of the Muslim figure is partly explained by the Muslims' much greater household size, which reduces the per capita income, but even the entire household income of Muslim employees was not much more than half that of their Jewish counterparts. This is connected to the large educational differential between the two groups and the low labor-force-participation rates of Arab and especially Muslim women.

[23] The narrowing of the per capita income differences in 1983 was influenced by the use of the "standard person" concept, which adjusts with decreasing weights for the number of persons in a household.

Some Specific Subpopulations

ULTRA-ORTHODOX JEWS

There is a conspicuous differentiation within Jewish society in Jerusalem between the ultra-Orthodox and all other Jews. The ultra-Orthodox constitute a large segment of the very religious Jews. They are not only punctilious in religious observance but also strictly follow traditionalist modes of life, including distinctive styles of dress. The ultra-Orthodox live together in common neighborhoods, for ritual and social reasons, and try to avoid contact with persons who do not share their way of life. In the political sphere, ultra-Orthodox groups express non-Zionist or anti-Zionist views. It is now usual to denote the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem and Israel generally by the term *haredim.* In fact, complicated divisions and power contests exist between subgroups of the ultra-Orthodox—according to geographical origin, ideological tenets, and loyalty to certain leaders—but they share many common features that set them off from the majority of Jewish society.

The considerable representation of the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem is an undoubted fact of everyday life, Jerusalem being one of the two cities in Israel —the other is Bene-Berak—where the ultra-Orthodox live in large absolute and relative numbers. Yet it is by no means easy to measure statistically the frequency of the ultra-Orthodox, since there are no generally accepted criteria for defining them and no direct data sources. Population censuses and other official demographic statistics cannot be a direct source, because they do not presume to inquire into people's attitudes in religious, let alone political, matters. Statistics of school enrollment and election results are not conclusive. Agudat Israel and Shas, the two overtly ultra-Orthodox parties at the time of the 1984 parliamentary elections, together won about 14.5 percent of the Jewish vote in Jerusalem,[24] but this does not convey the full proportion of the ultra-Orthodox, since some of them boycotted the balloting at the instigation of extremist leaders, and others voted for different parties. In estimating the ultra-Orthodox subpopulation—including children—one must take into account its particularly young age structure; because of high fertility, the ultra-Orthodox comprise a greater share of Jewish children than of total Jews (of all ages together) or, more narrowly, those aged 18 and over, who are entitled to vote in elections.

In order to arrive at an admittedly very rough approximation of a figure for the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem, the author ascertained the number of

[24]Shas is not only an ultra-Orthodox party but also an "ethnic" party, made up of Sephardim and members of oriental (Asian/African-origin) communities. For this reason Shas may have won votes from persons of such ethnicity who are religious, though not themselves ultra-Orthodox.

Jews who, according to the 1983 population census, lived in tracts (according to a detailed division) where at least 30 percent of the valid votes in the 1984 parliamentary elections were cast for Agudat Israel and Shas. Knowledge of local conditions indicates that most, if not all, the Jews in each of these tracts actually belonged to ultra-Orthodox society according to their mode of life. Any individuals who were not ultra-Orthodox themselves in some of these particular tracts were, roughly speaking, offset by smaller clusters of the ultra-Orthodox elsewhere (whose presence there is documented, among other signs, by additional votes cast for the two mentioned parties). The resulting estimate of an ultra-Orthodox subpopulation of around 20 percent of Jerusalem's Jews—or something like 60,000 people in absolute numbers—can convey the order of magnitude of this phenomenon among Jerusalem's Jews as of a few years ago. Since the Jewish population of Jerusalem now grows mainly by natural increase, and since the ultra-Orthodox have more children—and are also less prone to migrate from the city—their share of the Jewish population seems bound to increase, unless there is considerable in-migration of other Jews.

NON-JEWS

An obvious differentiation among Jerusalem's Arabs, according to mode of life, is that between urban population and ex-villagers or ex-Bedouin, but since these matters are connected with locale of residence, they will be considered below in the section on spatial distribution.

Christians are divided into many churches and sects. The significance of this division is not only religious but relates to residential location and mode of life as well, since some of the sects form distinct nuclei within the city. This is true especially in the Old City, where the Armenian Quarter is a conspicuous example. Since the religious breakdown of Jerusalem's Christian residents from the 1983 population census has not been published, the following data are from the 1972 census: Catholics (Roman, Greek, etc.)—48.2 percent; Orthodox (Greek, etc.)—32.3 percent; Armenians—10.1 percent; Syrians—0.7 percent; Copts—1.3 percent; Ethiopians—0.4 percent; Protestants—3.6 percent; others and unspecified—3.4 percent.[25]

Spatial Distribution

In the period since reunification, Jerusalem's population not only grew substantially—by 71 percent (cf. table 2)—but also underwent considerable

[25]The data for Armenians, Syrians, and Copts include both the Orthodox and the Catholic (Uniate) sections of each of these denominations; the data presented for Catholics and Orthodox do not, however, include Armenians, Syrians, or Copts.

geographical redistribution within the enlarged city territory. This was rendered possible by large-scale building activity, particularly publicly initiated Jewish housing projects. Residential separation between Jews and Arabs persists, but its spatial pattern has been altered.

RESIDENTIAL EXPANSION

Soon after the Six Day War, a Jewish land bridge was created between the north of what had been the Israeli city (see map 1)[26] and the institutional sites—the Hebrew University campus and Hadassah Hospital—on Mount Scopus (in the center of Sq 29), which had been practically inaccessible to Jews during the years of the city's division. This was achieved through the establishment of Jewish housing projects in the previously unbuilt Sq 28 (Ramat Eshkol, across the defunct armistice line) and in the western section of Sq 29 (French Hill). At the time of the 1972 census, 8,300 Jews already lived there; by 1985 their number had grown to 23,200. The Mount Scopus campus and the hospital were renovated and expanded and resumed their functions.

During the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, the Jewish Quarter in the Old City was restored and to a large extent rebuilt. With great care, usable portions of old buildings were joined to newly erected ones. By this blend of the old and new, modern apartments with up-to-date facilities were created, while a good deal of the appearance and atmosphere of the historic quarter was retained. Also, many Jewish religious sites were reconstructed and put to use again, the most important being the Western Wall of the Temple Mount (the so-called Wailing Wall), now with a large open-air expanse for prayer and ceremonies in front of it. The Arabs who had installed themselves in this quarter during the Jordanian period were indemnified so that they could acquire dwellings elsewhere. By now more than 2,000 Jews live in the Old City, a select socioeconomic group, very distinct from the inhabitants of the other, long-neglected sections of the Old City.

Since the early 1970s, four big Jewish residential clusters have been set up on empty land along the outer perimeter of enlarged East Jerusalem. At the time of the 1972 census, they were just being started and were virtually

[26]Map 1 shows the division of Jerusalem's municipal territory into "subquarters" (abbreviated "Sqs"), as used in the official statistics and last updated on the occasion of the 1983 population census. However, the numeration of the subquarters has been changed here from the official one so as to more specifically express the spatial structure of Jerusalem according to geographic, chronological, and demographic considerations. This modified numeration starts with the Jewish Quarter of the walled Old City, which alone has been inhabited almost continuously since biblical times.

Map 1
Jerusalem Subquarters, 1983

Old City:
1 Jewish Quarter
2 Muslim Quarter
3 Armenian Quarter
4 Christian Quarter

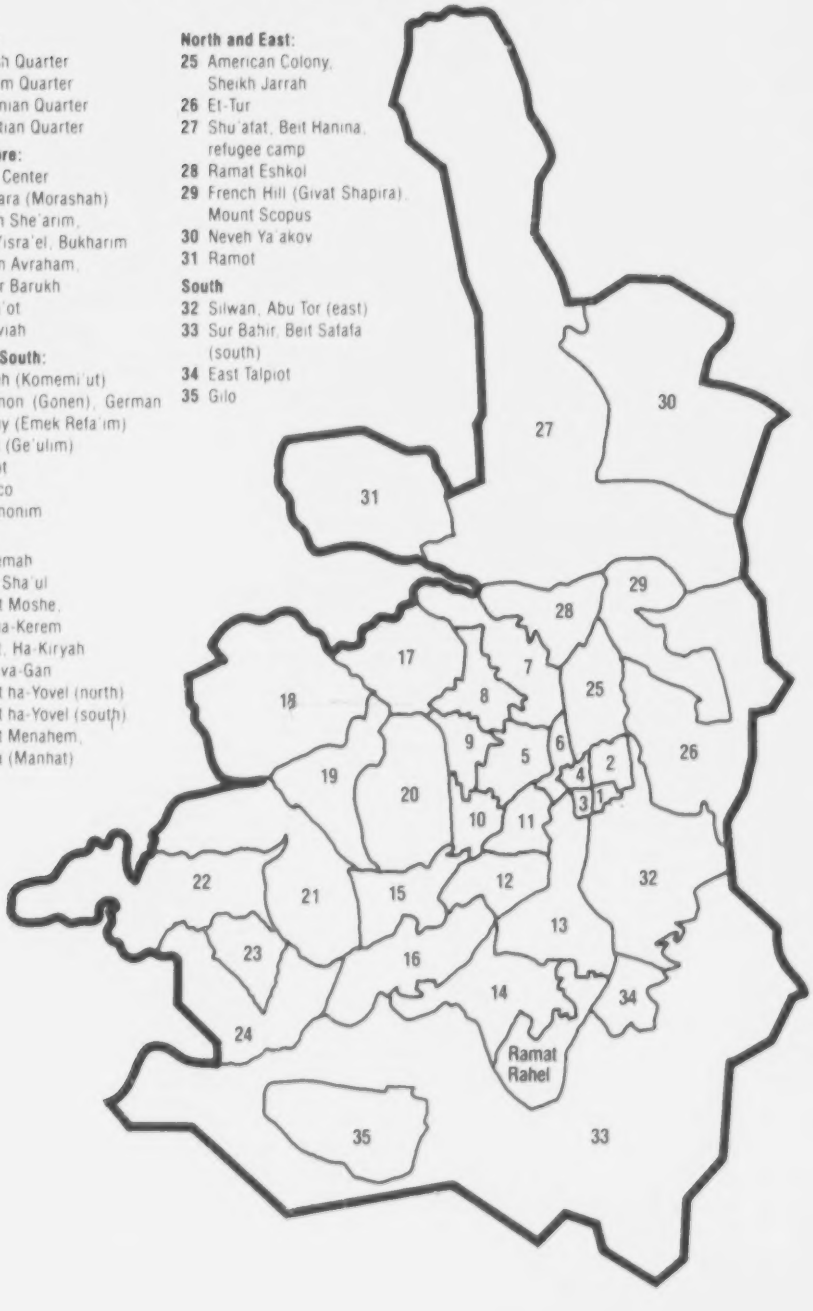
Urban Core:
5 Town Center
6 Musrara (Morashah)
7 Me'ah She'arim, Beit Yisra'el, Bukharim
8 Kerem Avraham, Mekor Barukh
9 Nahla'ot
10 Rehaviah

Central, South:
11 Talbieh (Komemi'ut)
12 Katamon (Gonen), German Colony (Emek Refa'im)
13 Bak'a (Ge'ulim)
14 Talpiot
15 Rassco
16 Katamonim

West:
17 Romemah
18 Givat Sha'ul
19 Kiryat Moshe, Beit ha-Kerem
20 Nayot, Ha-Kiryah
21 Bayit va-Gan
22 Kiryat ha-Yovel (north)
23 Kiryat ha-Yovel (south)
24 Kiryat Menahem, Malha (Manhat)

North and East:
25 American Colony, Sheikh Jarrah
26 Et-Tur
27 Shu'afat, Beit Hanina, refugee camp
28 Ramat Eshkol
29 French Hill (Givat Shapira), Mount Scopus
30 Neveh Ya'akov
31 Ramot

South
32 Silwan, Abu Tor (east)
33 Sur Bahir, Beit Safafa (south)
34 East Talpiot
35 Gilo



uninhabited, but by the 1983 census they already housed 51,000 Jews, and by the end of 1985 the figure had increased to 70,000, according to the updating notifications received by the Israel Population Registry. These new residential clusters are Neveh Ya'akov (Sq 30) and Ramot (Sq 31), in the north, the former with an extension—Pisgat Ze'ev—now being constructed to connect it with Mount Scopus. In the south are East Talpiot (Sq 34) and Gilo (Sq 35), the last mentioned now the largest of them all with an estimated population of 24,000 in 1985.

In addition, there has been a good deal of residential building in already existing Jewish neighborhoods, particularly in the west, where the populations of Kiryat Moshe, Beit ha-Kerem, Bayit va-Gan, and Nayot (Sqs 19–21) more than doubled, from 16,000 to 37,400, between 1967 and 1985.

As already stated, 23 percent of all Jewish households in Jerusalem reported in the 1983 census that their apartments had been built since 1975, while only 12 percent of all non-Jewish households in the city did so. Yet, there was also a considerable amount of new housing constructed by Arabs in, or close to, already existing Arab neighborhoods. This took place particularly in the north (Shu'afat and Beit Hanina, Sq 27), where a quarter of the non-Jewish households reported in 1983 that their apartments had been built since 1975.

In addition, several new industrial zones, though of limited dimensions, were set up at the outskirts of Jerusalem, particularly in Talpiot, Har Hotzvim, and Atarot (in Sqs 14, 7, and 27).

The above-outlined new constructions for residential and other purposes have not only widely extended the built-up area but have also improved its appearance. The new housing developments consist mainly of condominiums, however, in which even the minority of one-family houses are built relatively close to one another. This has been due to considerations of security, economy (in land and infrastructure), and the saving of construction time. Jews who aspire to a house and garden of their own, on comparatively easy terms, often move to the new Jewish suburbia of Jerusalem that is springing up outside the municipal territory (see below).

SEPARATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The spatial pattern of residential separation between Jews and Arabs has changed since 1967 (tables 21 and 22; maps 2A and 2B). Arabs have stayed within the ex-Jordanian territory, whereas Jews have not only returned to the Old City and Mount Scopus but have also established the three tiers of new residential neighborhoods that were mentioned above: Neveh Ya'akov and Ramot at the northern outskirts of the city territory (Sqs 30 and 31); still in the north but more inwardly located, Ramat Eshkol and French Hill

(Sqs 28 and 29), as a connection between Mount Scopus and the bulk of the Jewish area; and East Talpiot and Gilo at the southern outskirts (Sqs 34 and 35).

Map 2B shows that a kind of checker pattern has emerged in the north, east, and south, made up of sizable sections that are each inhabited predominantly by Jews or by Muslims and Christians. Of the 35 subquarters into which Jerusalem is now divided for statistical purposes, there were only 6 in which the proportion of either Jews or non-Jews (i.e., the sum of Muslims and Christians) did not exceed 95 percent in 1983; in 25 subquarters the respective proportions exceeded 98 percent. Even the few exceptions were mostly due to discrepancies between the subquarter boundaries and the habitational limits of the population groups, or to the existence of small enclaves, rather than to actual residential intermingling. Intermingling exists only on a small scale, usually with Christians living among Jews.[27]

Comparison of tables 22 and 23 indicates the changes in the spatial distribution of population that took place in Jerusalem between 1967 and 1985; maps 2A and 2B show the religious composition of population within each subquarter in 1967 and 1983.[28] The general tendency was centrifugal, with a growing spread toward the city boundaries, particularly in the north and south, where wide stretches had previously been unbuilt.

Table 23 (and maps 3A and 3B) shows the differences in residential density of population (thousands of inhabitants per square kilometer) between the various subquarters. Density is greatest in the Old City (Sqs 1–4) and in the Jewish urban core (Sqs 5–10). In the latter, a decreasing trend prevails due to net out-movement of population, except for the ultra-Orthodox Sqs 7 and 8. Density is comparatively low in the large peripheral regions of Jerusalem.

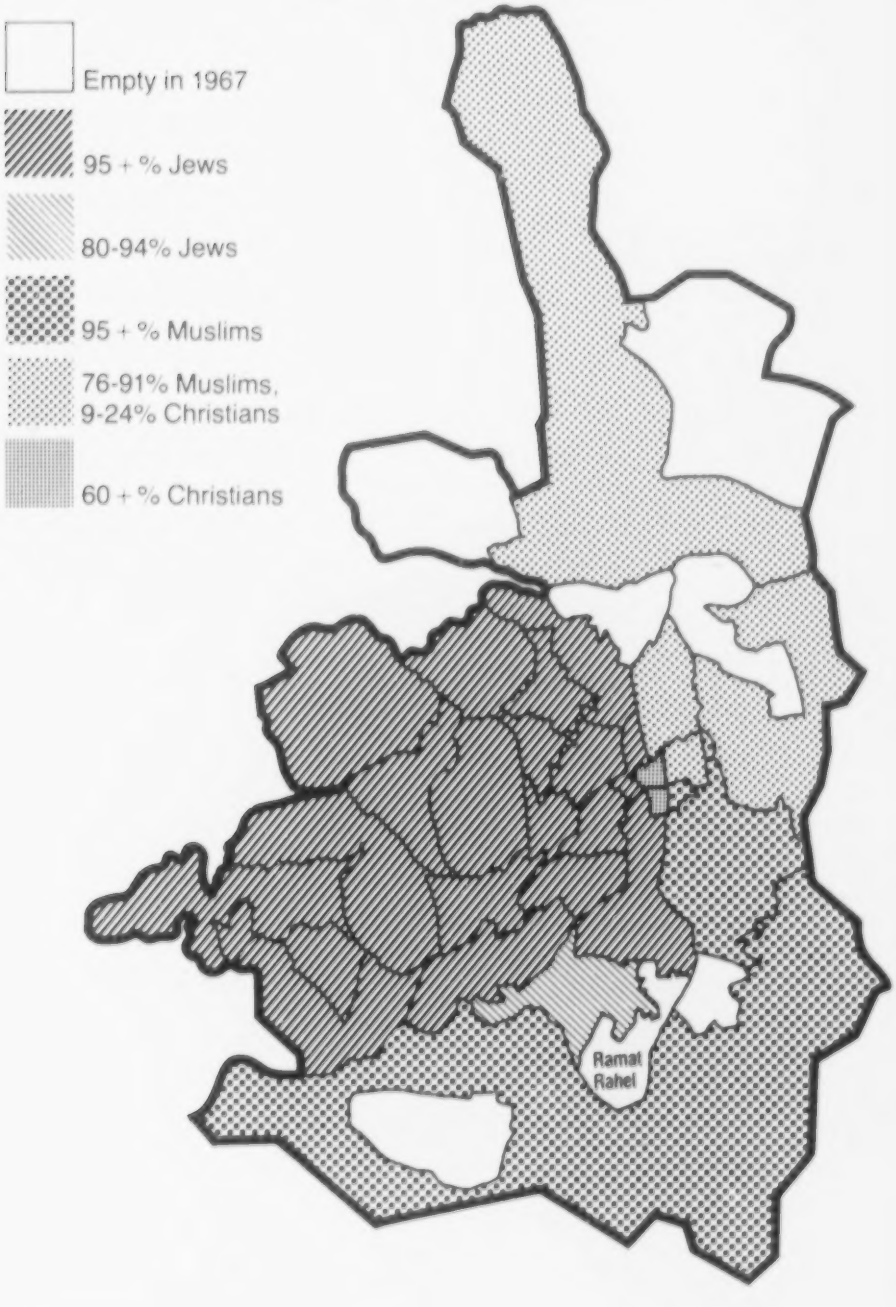
JEWISH AREAS

The Jewish population underwent a far-reaching redistribution across large sections of the extended city territory. Between 1967 and 1985, the urban core of Jewish Jerusalem (Sqs 5–10) lost population not only relatively, from 43 to 21 percent of total Jews, but also absolutely, from 84,000 to 68,000 (tables 22 and 23). This happened, on the one hand, because of

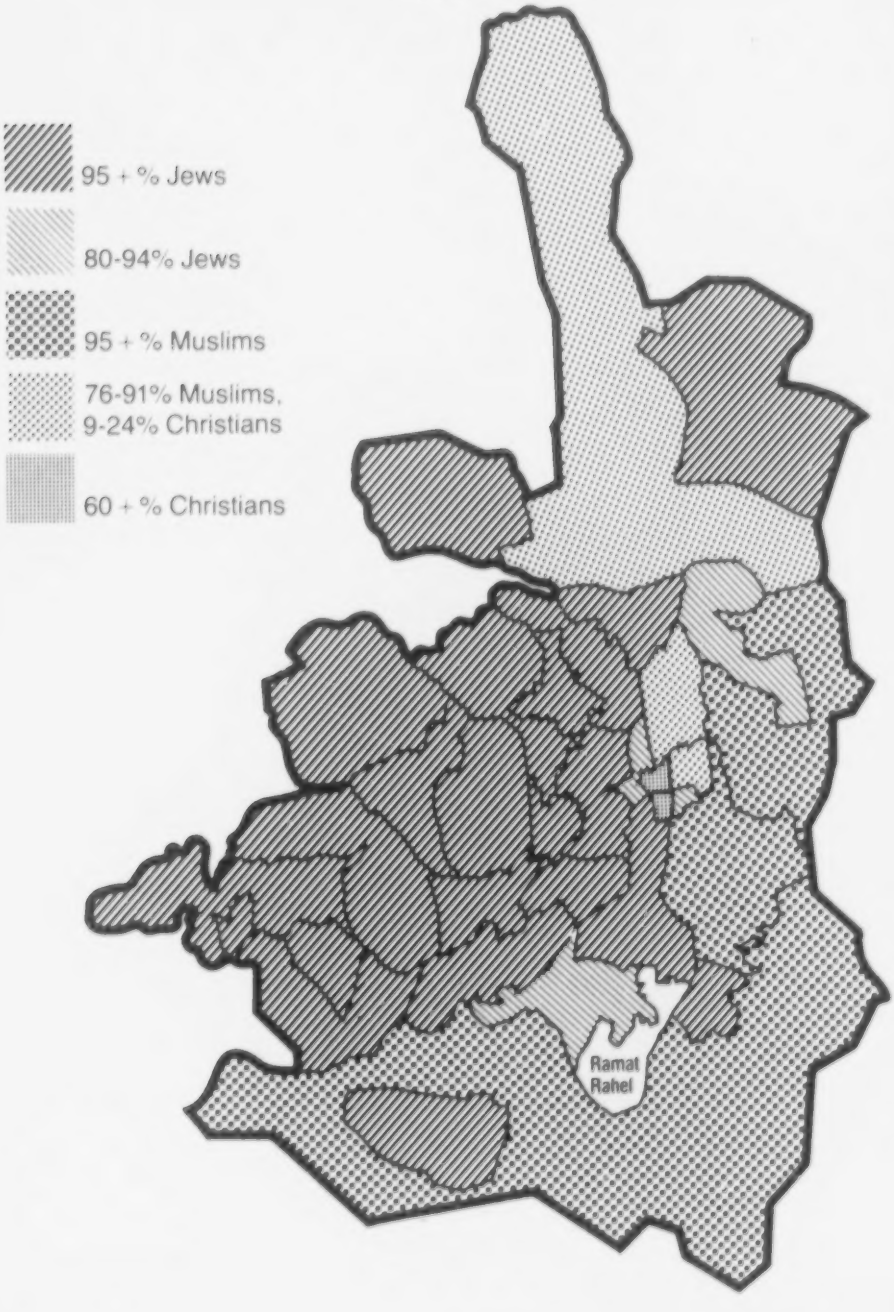
[27] Including instances of mixed households.

[28] The data for Jews in map 2A are the author's estimates based on figures of the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics for proximate years and ultimately on the 1961 and 1972 censuses; the data for Muslims and Christians in map 2A are nearly all taken from the 1967 census of East Jerusalem (see footnote 6). The aggregates of these data have supplied the information for map 3A.

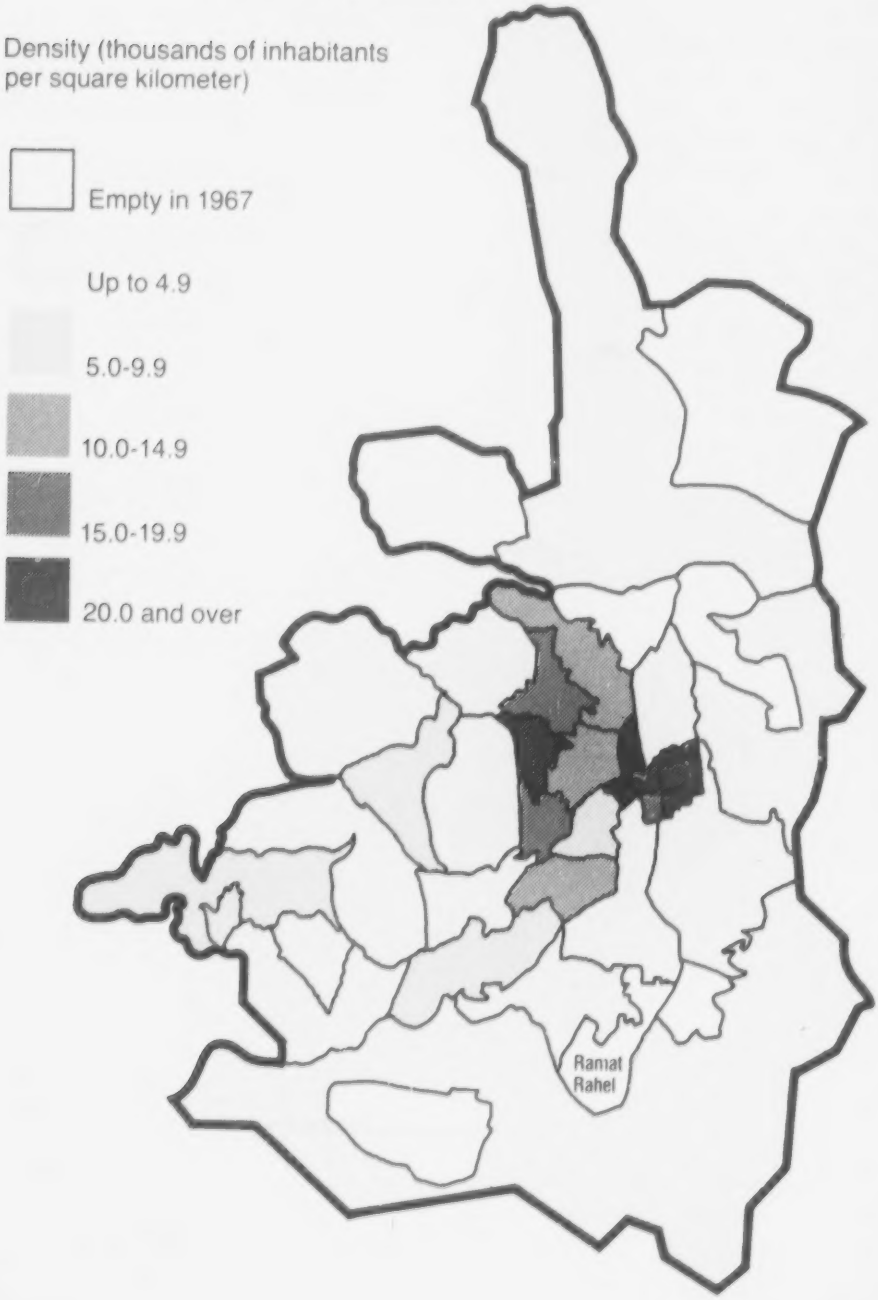
Map 2A
Jerusalem: Religious Composition, September 1967



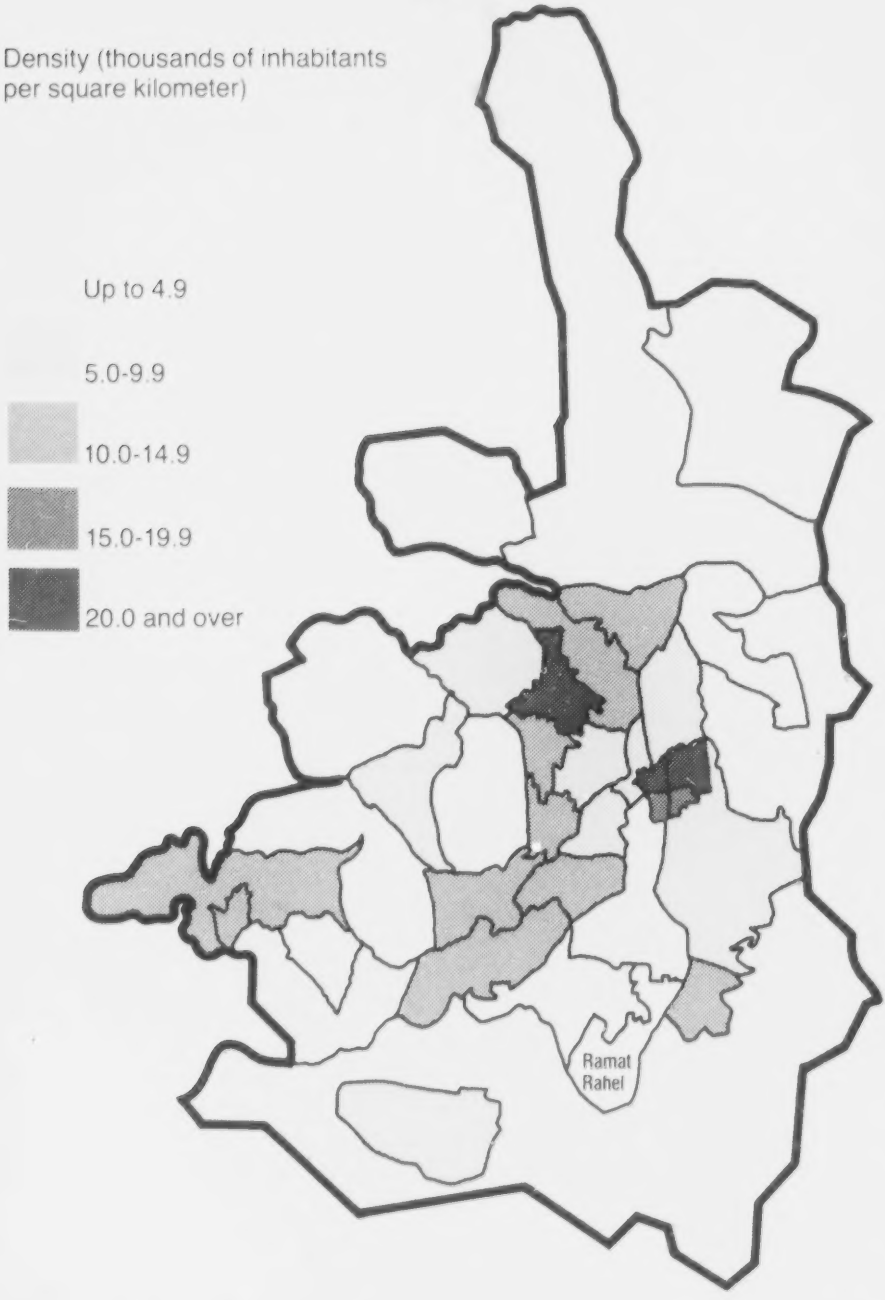
Map 2B
Jerusalem: Religious Composition, 1983



Map 3A
Jerusalem: Population Density, September 1967



Map 3B
Jerusalem: Population Density, 1985



the increasing sprawl of the downtown area, with business premises and offices spreading throughout the urban core, and, on the other hand, continual out-movement of residents, particularly younger couples, from low-grade neighborhoods in the area toward more attractive ones elsewhere. However, the process of replacing older houses with new business and office structures has moved at a slow pace. A special case is Sq 6, whose southern part (the Mamilla region) is scheduled for rebuilding and has been gradually abandoned by its population. At the same time, within the Jewish urban core, the population has grown in the now mainly ultra-Orthodox Sqs 7 and 8 (Me'ah She'arim, etc., Kerem Avraham, etc.) because of the strong natural increase there.

Many other areas of what had been the Israeli zone of divided Jerusalem have also lost population, relatively or even absolutely. This is true of the following: Talbieh, Katamon, Bak'a, and Talpiot (Sqs 11–14), which were first established in the late Ottoman or Mandatory periods; the Katamonim (Sq 16), with new-immigrant housing set up in the 1950s and early 1960s; and Sqs 22–24 in the southwest (Kiryat ha-Yovel, etc.) that accommodated new immigrants in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s.

In contrast, marked growth of Jewish population during 1967–1985 took place in the following areas: Kiryat Moshe, Beit ha-Kerem, and Bayit va-Gan (Sqs 19 and 21), which started as garden suburbs in the Mandatory period and still preserve a comfortable residential character; Rassco (Sq 15), which in the 1960s attracted intelligentsia of European origin, among them many young Israeli-born Jews; Nayot (Sq 20), a relatively new upper-class neighborhood; and Romemah and Givat Sha'ul (Sqs 17 and 18), which contain growing numbers of new housing projects for the ultra-Orthodox with their large families.

The main thrust of Jewish residential development has been beyond the former Israeli zone of divided Jerusalem—to Sqs 28–31, 34, and 35, as already stated. Not only new immigrants have been directed there since the 1970s; a great many families of the existing Jewish population, particularly younger couples, have moved there as well. This is due to the larger size of apartments, the superior structural and town-planning aspects of the new housing, and cost-benefit considerations (comparatively low prices, though a greater distance from most places of work). By 1985, the Jewish population of these new residential areas already approached 100,000, or 30 percent of Jerusalem's total Jews.

While date of immigration of the foreign-born continues to be an important determinant of the residential distribution of the Jewish population, financial resources and ages of the adults are increasingly significant factors in this regard. The obvious tendency of younger couples to move to peripheral locations better suited for child rearing is reinforced by the lower prices

of apartments in new and more distant places, and facilitated by public mortgage loans that are allocated specifically to new couples.

A similar process, leading to increased spread of the Jewish population within Jerusalem, applies to the housing needs of the younger generation among the ultra-Orthodox. Up to the first decade of the state, the ultra-Orthodox were mainly concentrated in certain sections of Sq 7 (Me'ah She'arim, etc.). Since then they have experienced a population explosion, due to high fertility and also to greater success than before in retaining their younger generation within the fold. At first they filled Sq 8 (Kerem Avraham, Mekor Barukh), gradually replacing the previous Jewish inhabitants. When this area became insufficient and the demand for improved living standards grew, special housing projects for ultra-Orthodox families were erected in Sanhedria Murhevet (in Sq 28), Kiryat Matersdorf, and Kiryat Zanz near Romemah (Sq 17), as well as in Har Nof and in parts of Givat Sha'ul and Bayit va-Gan (Sqs 18 and 21), plus Ramat Polin (in Sq 31).

One of the consequences of sustained residential out-movement, which is primarily undertaken by younger adults with children, is the aging of the population that remains in the older neighborhoods. This process is very conspicuous in the urban core of Jewish Jerusalem (Sqs 5–10). Of the 36 tracts distinguished there for statistical purposes, in 1983 no fewer than 29 had a proportion of the elderly (aged 65+ years) in excess of 10 percent, as compared to an 8.7-percent city average for Jews at the time. Moreover, 17 of these tracts had between 15 and 35 percent elderly.

Jerusalem's Jews were distributed in 1985 as follows: Old City—0.8 percent; business center (Sq 5)—1.5 percent; lower-class neighborhoods largely built before 1948 (Sqs 6–9)—17.0 percent; upper-class neighborhoods first set up before 1948, partly as garden suburbs, but most of them now with large additions of buildings (Sqs 10–14, 17–19, 21)—30.5 percent; housing projects started 1948–1967, some having been expanded since then (Sqs 15, 16, 20, 22–24)—21.6 percent; housing projects initiated from 1967 onward (Sqs 28–31, 34, 35)—28.6 percent.

Region of birth of the foreign-born and origin of the Israeli-born are still consequential for the sociodemographic character of particular residential areas in Jerusalem because of the discrepant backgrounds of the Jews who came, respectively, from Asia-Africa and Europe-America. The gaps express themselves, as noted above, in demographic patterns (e.g., fertility and age composition), educational attainments, occupational distribution, etc. The origin-related sociodemographic disparities have, however, narrowed in the course of time, even among the foreign-born and much more so in the second generation, which is already Israeli-born. Among the determinants of residential profile, education is important because of its manifold

implications for demographic behavior and other socioeconomic characteristics (e.g., occupation and income). Age structure is not only *per se* a basic aspect of a population, but it influences labor-force participation, income levels, and life-styles.

The period in which most apartments in a neighborhood were built is relevant for structural characteristics, number and size of rooms, and the original availability of modern facilities, as well as for the prevalence of ownership by residents. Up to the Mandatory period, building for rental was common, whereas since then, owning—actual or prospective—of apartments by their residents (often in condominiums) has been usual in Jerusalem, as in Israel generally. Moreover, the time when a neighborhood was chiefly constructed, especially if this occurred after the establishment of the state, is reflected in the foreign-born residents' distribution by immigration period, since in any given period the new arrivals were largely directed to vacant apartments in neighborhoods just being built. The distance of a neighborhood from the center of town influences possession of cars, which in Israel is an indicator of socioeconomic status. The degree of religiosity in a neighborhood influences fertility, and thereby age composition, with its various concomitants.

A factor of demographic dynamics that is apt to override others is an area's migration balance. In Jerusalem, for instance, Sq 9 (the Nahla'ot) has long had a major concentration of oriental Jews, who once were very fertile and had a high proportion of young people. By 1983 the neighborhood had a rather aging population—median age of 30.9 years, compared to the city average for Jews of 25.1—because the younger generation had been leaving for more attractive neighborhoods. All these and other factors influence one another in complex interrelationships which together create a particular residential profile.

According to data from the 1983 census and other information, the group of Jerusalem Jewish subquarters that ranked highest sociodemographically included the adjacent areas numbered 10 (Rehaviah), 11 (Talbieh), and 20 (Nayot, etc.). These are also the subquarters with the greatest proportions of European and American Jews. Rehaviah and Talbieh have been upper-class neighborhoods since their establishment in Mandatory times; Nayot is rather new and has only a small population (Sq 20 is mainly institutional). After these comes a group of more outlying subquarters: 15 (Rassco), 19 (Beit ha-Kerem), and 29 (French Hill). At the bottom of the ranking is the following group of Jewish subquarters: 9 (Nahla'ot)—with its already-mentioned traditional concentration of oriental Jews;[29] (7) (Me'ah She'arim, etc.)—the original concentration of the ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazim, including several oriental Jewish neighborhoods as well; and 6 (Musrara)—

[29]Though some process of "gentrification" is now under way in parts of the Nahla'ot.

at the border with the ex-Jordanian zone, along the course of the armistice line that had divided Jerusalem.[30] All three of these areas were built in Ottoman or early Mandatory times and have largely become slums.

NON-JEWISH AREAS

The spatial-distribution trends of the non-Jewish population in Jerusalem since 1967 have been characterized by moves from the crowded Old City to the northern, eastern, and southern areas outside it (respectively Sqs 27, 26, 32, 33). Large sections of the Old City, especially in the Muslim Quarter and in part of the Christian Quarter, are slums—despite the historical buildings in them—because of long neglect. Great natural increase notwithstanding, the non-Jewish population of the Old City has kept within the narrow limits of 22,000–23,000 throughout the years 1967–1985. Thus, its proportional share among Jerusalem's total non-Jews has fallen from 33 to 18 percent. In contrast, the population of the non-Jewish subquarters outside the walls grew 2.3 times during the same years, and accounted in 1985 for 79 percent of Jerusalem's non-Jews.

As of 1983, the non-Jewish population of Jerusalem could be divided according to residential typology roughly as follows (in percentages):

	Total Non-Jews (%)	Muslims (%)	Christians (%)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Old City (Sqs 1–4)	19.0	15.5	47.2
Other urban sections, first set up before 1948 (Sq 25, part of Sq 26)[a]	11.0	10.1	18.6
Other urban sections, set up after 1948 (most of Sq 27, part of Sq 32)[a]	24.7	24.5	26.3
Ex-villages (in a hemicyle around the Old City) with old nuclei and many new buildings	35.5	38.8	7.9
Ex-Bedouin (in part of Sq 33)	5.0	5.6	0.0
Refugee camp (in part of Sq 27)	4.8	5.5	0.0

[a]Including also non-Jews scattered in relevant Jewish subquarters.

Socioeconomically, according to a variety of indicators, the highest Muslim level was in the older urban neighborhoods outside the walls (Sq 25),

[30]The northern part of this subquarter—Musrara proper—is now being rehabilitated. The southern part has been virtually emptied of population because of large-scale rebuilding plans for the approaches to Jaffa Gate.

but lowest in the Old City (Sqs 1–4), among the ex-Bedouin (Sq 33), and in the refugee camp (Sq 27).

Jerusalem's Christians were concentrated in particular neighborhoods. A much larger proportion of Christians than Muslims lived in the Old City. The respective percentages in 1967, 1972, and 1983 were as follows: Christians—53, 56, 47 percent; Muslims—29, 23, 15.5 percent. Christians formed a majority of non-Jews and of the total population in the Christian and Armenian quarters of the Old City (Sqs 4 and 3), and were also numerous in those sections of the Muslim Quarter (Sq 2) that were contiguous with their own. They have two more concentrations in Jerusalem, in upper-level non-Jewish neighborhoods: as of 1983 they formed 18 percent in the older urban areas outside the walls (American Colony, etc., Sq 25) and altogether 9 percent in the northern Sq 27 (Beit Hanina, etc.), but as many as 22 percent in a particular tract thereof. There exist specific neighborhoods inhabited by adherents of certain Christian churches, particularly in the Old City. On the other hand, Christians are hardly represented in the south of Jerusalem (Sqs 32, 33). Socioeconomically, their upper class is found mainly in Sq 25; Sqs 27 and 3 (the latter is the Armenian Quarter) rank next; while the Christian population elsewhere in the Old City ranks lowest, on the whole.

The major changes in the spatial distribution of Jerusalem's total population between 1967 and 1985 can be seen in tables 22–23, which furnish evidence of a strong centrifugal tendency that has increased demographic dispersal over the large municipal territory. The share of the population residing in enlarged East Jerusalem among the entire municipal population increased from about a quarter to one-half—from 26 to 49 percent—during 1967–1985, because of the new residential neighborhoods established there. For the same reason, the proportion of Jews in enlarged East Jerusalem rose from nil to 43 percent of the total population there.

SURROUNDINGS OF THE CITY

Demographic dispersal did not stop at the city's boundaries, but went beyond them. The Jewish population in the corridor that links Jerusalem with the bulk of the state's territory grew from 28,000 to 44,000 during 1966–1985. The corridor now comprises 64 Jewish localities. In addition to the townlet of Beit Shemesh at its western end, there is another, Mevasseret Zion, at the eastern end, bordering on Jerusalem. The latter's recent rise of population, to 10,200 in 1985, is largely accounted for by Jerusalemites moving to one-family houses there.

At the end of 1985, Judea and Samaria had 105 Jewish settlements with 44,000 inhabitants. A large proportion of the settlers in Judea and in the

southern part of Samaria came from Jerusalem, either for ideological and religious reasons or in quest of improved quality of life at comparatively low cost. Of several townlets that are being built, two lie quite close to Jerusalem: Ma'ale Adumim, with a population of only 3,500 at the time of the 1983 census, but with 9,300 inhabitants at the end of 1985; and Givat Ze'ev, which had not yet been settled in 1983, but which had 2,200 registered inhabitants at the end of 1985. These two and many other localities in Judea-Samaria fulfill a dormitory function for families whose earners work in Jerusalem. While these localities have put an end to the previous isolation of Jerusalem (from the Jewish point of view), they draw population away from the city's municipal territory. Moreover, those who leave are usually younger couples who are likely to have additional children, so that both the migration balance and the natural increase of the city's Jews are affected.

There has also been some out-movement of Jerusalem Arabs to dormitory neighborhoods beyond the municipal boundaries. In terms of building continuity, Arab Jerusalem is now increasingly linked with Arab towns and townlets on three sides: the triplet of Bethlehem, Beit Jala, and Beit Sahur in the south; Ezaria and Abu Dis in the east; and the twin towns of Ramallah and El Bira in the north. The functional links extend over a much wider area and are of a multifold character, since, as noted above, they bring into contact the Arab population of Judea-Samaria with the Arab sector, the Jewish sector, and public institutions in Jerusalem.

While it is evident that the city of Jerusalem exercises a powerful influence on its wider geographical surroundings, existing distinctions—legal, administrative, and political—between the state territory of Israel and Judea-Samaria, as well as between the Arab and Jewish localities in the latter region, make it difficult at present to speak in terms of an integrated Jerusalem metropolitan area.

Conclusion

Since 1967, substantial advances have taken place in Jerusalem, in terms of population growth, socioeconomic development, and modern town planning. However, the city's overall situation is highly complex. For one thing, its international status remains in dispute; for another, its demographic diversity is a source of considerable tension, actual or potential. Two people and three major religions have stakes in Jerusalem—and each of these, in turn, is divided and subdivided along a variety of lines. What these diverse groups have in common is a deep awareness of the city's place in history, its spiritual importance over the centuries. In their many different ways, the people of Jerusalem cherish the uniqueness of the city they share.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF ISRAEL, BY RELIGION, 1967–1985

Date	Total	Jews	Muslims	Christians	Druze[a]	% Jews	% Muslims Among Non-Jews
			Absolute Numbers (Thousands)				
Sept. 1967[b]	2,764.7	2,373.9	287.9	71.0	31.9	85.9	73.7
May 1972	3,147.7	2,686.7	352.0	72.1	36.9	85.4	76.4
June 1983	4,037.6	3,350.0	526.6	94.2	66.8	83.0	76.6
Dec. 1985	4,266.2	3,517.2	577.6	99.4	72.0	82.4	77.1
			Relative Growth (Sept. 1967 = 100)				
1985	154	148	201	140	226		
			Annual Percent of Growth				
1967–85	2.4	2.2	3.9	1.9	4.6		

Sources: For sources of data for all tables, see text pp. 44–45.
[a]Incl. some "others."
[b]My estimate.
Note: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 2. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, 1967–1985

Date	Total[a]	Jews	Muslims	Christians	% Jews	% Muslims Among Non-Jews
			Absolute Numbers (Thousands)			
Sept. 1967[b]	267.8	196.8	58.1	12.9	73.5	81.8
May 1972	313.9	230.3	71.8	11.7	73.4	85.9
June 1983	428.7	306.3	108.5	13.7	71.4	88.6
Dec. 1985	457.7	327.7	115.7	14.2	71.6	89.1
			Relative Growth (Sept. 1967 = 100)			
1985	171	167	199	110		
			Annual Percent of Growth			
1967–85	3.0	2.8	3.8	0.5		
1967–72	3.5	3.5	4.6	−2.0		
1972–83	2.9	2.6	3.8	1.4		
1983–85	2.6	2.6	2.5	1.4		

[a]Incl. some "Druze and others."
[b]My estimate.

TABLE 3. JEWS IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, 1967–1985

Location	Absolute Numbers (Thousands)				Relative Growth[a]	
	Jan. 1967	May 1972	June 1983	Dec. 1985	1967–83	1983–85
Jerusalem	193.0	230.3	306.3	327.7	159	107
Tel Aviv:						
City	383.2	357.4	317.8	312.6	83	98
Conurbation[b]	943.6	1,083.5	(1,300.0)	n.a.	138	n.a.
" [c]	n.a.	n.a.	1,530.1	1,579.7	n.a.	103
Haifa:						
City	195.8	207.2	208.4	205.8	106	99
Conurbation[b]	292.4	323.1	(364.5)	n.a.	125	n.a.
" [c]	n.a.	n.a.	369.1	372.8	n.a.	101
Israel	2,344.9	2,686.7	3,350.0	3,517.2	143	105

[a]Base year = 100.
[b]As delimited for the 1972 census.
[c]As delimited for the 1983 census.
Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 4. COMPONENTS OF CHANGE IN POPULATION SIZE IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION, 1967–1985 (RATES PER 1,000)

Components of Change	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem
	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[a]	Haifa Conurb.[a]	Israel	
			Jan. 1967[b]–Dec. 1976		
Total changes	32	23	18	25	38
Natural increase	21	14	12	17	34
Births	28	22	20	24	43
Deaths	7	8	8	7	9
Migratory movement	11	9	6	8	4
External migration[c]	7	2	7	8	n.a.
Internal migration	4	7	−1	0	n.a.
Entered	24	45	33	38	n.a.
Left	20	38	34	38	n.a.
			Jan. 1977–June 1983		
Total changes	21	14	6	18	32
Natural increase	21	12	8	15	34
Births	27	20	18	22	39
Deaths	6	8	10	7	5
Migratory movement	0	2	−2	3	−2
External migration[c]	2	0	0	3	−2
Internal migration	−2	2	−2	0	0
Entered	24	43	37	42	n.a.
Left	26	41	39	42	n.a.
			June 1983–Dec. 1985		
Total changes	22	10	1	16	24
Natural increase	22	11	7	14.5	28
Births	28	19	17	22	32
Deaths	6	8	10	7.5	4

Continued on the next page

TABLE 4.—*(Continued)*

Components of Change	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem
	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[a]	Haifa Conurb.[a]	Israel	
Migratory movement	0	−1	−6	1.5	−4
External migration[c]	3	−1	0	1.5	−4
Internal migration	−3	0	−6	0	0
Entered	28	44	36	45	2
Left	31	44	42	45	2

[a]1972 delimitation of conurbations for 1967–1976 and 1977–June 1983; 1983 delimitation for June 1983–1985.
[b]September 1967 for non-Jews in Jerusalem.
[c]Immigration minus emigration.
Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 5. TOTAL FERTILITY RATES[a] OF JEWISH WOMEN IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY REGION OF BIRTH, 1972 AND 1983

Region of Birth	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv-Yafo	Haifa	Israel
		1972		
Total	3.28	2.50	2.72	3.19
Israel	3.16	2.33	2.77	2.96
Asia-Africa	3.70	3.40	3.62	3.85
Europe-America	3.06	2.13	2.43	2.71
		1983		
Total	3.65	2.13	2.37	2.83
Israel	3.94	2.12	2.32	2.85
Asia-Africa	3.23	2.46	2.75	3.13
Europe-America	3.44	2.04	2.26	2.83

[a]"Total fertility rate" indicates the average number of children that a woman would bear during her lifetime if the age-specific fertility rates remained the same as in the year(s) under consideration. Under conditions of very low mortality the "replacement level" is 2.1 children per woman (regardless of marital status).

TABLE 6. AVERAGE BIRTH ORDER OF NEWBORN CHILDREN OF JEWISH WOMEN (AGED 30–34) IN JERUSALEM, BY ORIGIN AND RELIGIOSITY, 1974–1983[a]

Indicators of Religiosity	Total	Origin Israel	Origin Asia-Africa		Origin Europe-America	
			Born in Israel	Born Abroad	Born in Israel	Born Abroad
			1970–1974[b]			
Religiosity of residential region:						
Total	n.a.	4.4	n.a.	n.a.	3.3	3.2
Low	n.a.	3.6	n.a.	n.a.	3.0	2.9
High	n.a.	6.2	n.a.	n.a.	5.0	5.4
			1975–1976			
Total	3.7	4.2	3.3	4.1	3.3	3.2
Woman does not go to *mikveh*	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.6	2.6	2.4
Woman goes to *mikveh* and husband is:						
-not in yeshivah	4.3	4.4	3.8	4.5	3.8	4.0
-in yeshivah	5.2	5.5	(5.6)	4.7	4.9	5.3
			1983			
Religiosity of residential region:						
Total	3.8	4.4	3.3	3.5	3.9	3.9
Very low	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.3	2.7	3.0
Rather low	4.1	4.3	3.4	4.1	4.2	4.4
Rather high	5.4	5.8	4.7	5.2	5.5	5.6
Very high	5.9	5.8	4.9	4.9	5.9	6.5

[a]For sources, see footnote 12 to text.
[b]Both spouses of European or Israeli origin.
Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 7. JEWS IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY REGIONS OF BIRTH AND ORIGIN, 1972 AND 1983 (PERCENT)

	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[a]	Haifa Conurb.[a]	Israel
Region of Birth				
1972:				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Israel	58.7	46.7	42.7	47.4
Asia	11.3	14.5	6.0	11.8
Africa	9.7	6.6	11.0	13.0
Europe-America	20.3	32.2	40.3	27.9
1983:				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Israel	62.7	56.8	52.1	57.5
Asia	8.4	11.8	4.7	8.9
Africa	7.3	6.0	9.0	9.6
Europe-America	21.6	25.5	34.3	23.9
	Percentage Asian-African-Born Among Foreign-Born			
1972	50.8	39.5	29.7	47.0
1983	42.1	41.0	28.5	43.6
	Percentage Born in Central and Western Europe or America Among All European-American-Born			
1972	43.5	21.1	26.3	25.8
1983	53.5	23.5	20.7	27.7
Region of Origin[b]				
1972:				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Israel	19.6	8.7	7.8	8.4
Asia	26.9	28.7	12.0	24.4

TABLE 7.—*(Continued)*

	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[a]	Haifa Conurb.[a]	Israel
Africa	17.8	11.7	19.1	23.0
Europe-Americas	35.7	50.9	61.1	44.2
1983:				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Israel	23.9	16.2	14.5	15.9
Asia	23.7	27.7	11.4	22.1
Africa	16.5	13.4	19.7	21.9
Europe-Americas	35.9	42.8	54.5	40.1

[a]In this and the following tables, conurbations are as delimited for the 1972 and 1983 censuses, respectively.
[b]Birth country of foreign-born and father's birth country for Israeli-born.

TABLE 8. JEWS IN JERUSALEM AND ISRAEL, BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1983 (PERCENT)

Principal Country of Origin[a]	Jews in Jerusalem			Jews in Israel		
	Total	Born in Israel	Born Abroad	Total	Born in Israel	Born Abroad
Israel	23.9	38.2	—	15.9	27.7	—
Abroad, total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Asia, total	31.3	39.7	22.6	26.3	31.7	20.9
Turkey	3.0	3.8	2.2	3.3	3.5	3.1
Syria, Lebanon	1.7	2.1	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.1
Iraq	13.0	17.1	8.8	9.4	11.8	7.1
Yemen, South Yemen	3.3	4.8	1.8	5.8	8.1	3.6
Iran	8.7	10.1	7.2	4.3	4.6	4.0
India, Pakistan	0.4	0.5	0.5	1.3	1.3	1.4
Others in Asia	1.1	1.3	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.6
Africa, total	21.6	23.6	19.6	26.1	29.7	22.8
Morocco	16.1	18.0	14.2	16.2	18.2	14.3
Algeria, Tunisia	3.0	3.1	2.9	4.3	5.0	3.7
Libya	0.5	0.7	0.3	2.7	3.6	1.9
Egypt	1.3	1.4	1.2	2.5	2.7	2.3
Others in Africa	0.6	0.4	1.0	0.4	0.2	0.6
Europe-America, total	47.1	36.7	57.8	47.6	38.6	56.3
USSR	9.2	6.9	11.7	10.6	7.0	14.0
Poland	7.9	8.7	7.1	11.3	10.9	11.7
Rumania	5.8	4.3	7.3	10.0	7.4	12.6
Bulgaria, Greece	0.9	1.0	0.8	2.4	2.4	2.4
Germany, Austria	4.1	4.0	4.2	3.3	3.4	3.2
Czechoslovakia	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.6
Hungary	2.4	2.2	2.5	1.7	1.6	1.7
Others in Europe	6.3	4.2	8.5	3.2	2.4	3.9
North America, Oceania	6.6	2.7	10.5	1.7	0.8	2.6
Latin America	2.3	1.1	3.5	1.9	1.2	2.6

[a]See note b to table 7.

TABLE 9. FOREIGN-BORN JEWS IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION AND REGION OF BIRTH, 1983 (PERCENT)

Period of Immigration	Jerusalem				Tel Aviv Conurb.	Haifa Conurb.	Israel
	Total	Asia-Born	Africa-Born	Europe-America-Born			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Up to 1947	16.0	18.3	3.5	19.3	19.1	18.9	15.4
1948–1954	27.8	58.0	30.7	15.1	57.5	56.3	34.1
1955–1964	17.8	10.4	43.3	12.0			23.5
1965–1971	10.8	5.7	11.4	12.5	23.4	24.8	9.2
1972–1974	8.7	1.5	3.4	13.2			7.2
1975–1979	10.8	4.1	4.3	15.6			7.0
1980–1983	8.2	1.9	3.4	12.2			3.6

TABLE 10. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND AGE, 1972 AND 1983 (PERCENT AND MEDIAN)

Age	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.	Haifa Conurb.	Israel	Muslims	Christians
				1972			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0–14	35.1	31.0	26.3	25.0	29.6	49.3	29.2
15–64	58.2	61.6	64.5	65.2	62.6	46.6	61.1
65+	6.7	7.4	9.1	9.8	7.7	4.1	9.6
Median age	22.1	23.8	27.9	29.2	25.1	15.4	28.3
				1983			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0–14	35.1	31.7	28.2	25.9	30.0	45.9	26.7
15–64	57.4	59.6	60.2	60.7	59.9	50.5	62.6
65+	7.5	8.7	11.5	13.3	10.1	3.6	10.7
0–4	12.7	11.4	9.3	8.5	10.2	17.1	8.3
5–14	22.4	20.3	18.9	17.4	19.8	28.8	18.4
15–24	18.9	18.2	14.5	14.4	15.9	21.2	17.0
25–34	14.5	15.2	15.7	14.8	15.8	12.7	13.7
35–44	9.9	10.5	11.3	10.5	10.8	7.8	12.9
45–54	7.9	8.7	9.4	10.0	8.9	5.2	11.0
55–64	6.1	7.0	9.3	11.0	8.4	3.6	8.0
65–74	4.5	5.2	7.4	8.7	6.6	2.2	6.8
75+	2.9	3.5	4.1	4.6	3.5	1.4	3.9
Median age	22.8	25.1	29.9	31.7	27.6	16.9	29.4

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE OF MALES IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND AGE, 1972 AND 1983

Age	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.	Haifa Conurb.	Israel	Muslims	Christians
				1972			
Total	50.1	50.0	49.5	49.7	50.1	51.0	47.0
0–14	51.6	51.5	51.2	51.7	51.4	52.1	50.6
15–64	49.4	49.4	48.8	49.2	49.6	50.1	46.3
65+	48.1	48.6	49.6	47.7	49.1	48.1	40.2
				1983			
Total	49.9	49.8	49.0	49.0	49.6	50.5	45.6
0–14	51.5	51.7	51.1	51.3	51.3	51.0	50.5
15–64	51.8	49.5	48.4	48.6	49.3	50.1	45.1
65+	45.3	45.3	46.8	46.0	46.7	48.7	36.5

TABLE 12. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM AND ISRAEL, BY RELIGION, SEX, AND MARITAL STATUS,[a] 1972 AND 1983 (PERCENT)

Marital Status	Jerusalem, total 1983	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem		Israel		Muslims	Christians
		1972	1983	1972	1983	1983	1983
			Men				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	36.6	35.4	34.6	31.5	28.9	41.8	46.9
Married	60.2	61.4	61.7	65.1	66.8	56.6	50.0
Divorced	1.4	1.0	1.7	0.9	1.6	0.5	0.9
Widowed	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.5	2.6	1.1	2.2
			Women				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	27.6	28.3	26.6	22.9	20.8	28.4	42.4
Married	59.0	58.8	59.5	63.7	64.1	60.4	42.9
Divorced	3.0	2.1	3.5	1.9	3.2	1.5	1.7
Widowed	10.3	10.7	10.4	11.5	11.9	9.7	13.0

[a]Ages 15 and over.

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF EVER-MARRIED PERSONS IN JERUSALEM AND ISRAEL, BY RELIGION, SEX, AND AGE, 1972 AND 1983

	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
	Jerusalem		Israel		Muslims	Christians
Age	1972	1983	1972	1983	1983	1983
			Men			
15–19	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.9	2.4	0.5
20–24	22.2	17.5	23.2	17.2	25.3	6.5
25–29	69.0	61.3	72.5	67.7	66.4	34.3
30–34	87.9	86.0	90.7	88.6	87.8	64.1
35–39	92.0	93.2	94.3	94.7	93.8	78.1
40–44	94.2	95.1	95.3	96.5	96.5	80.5
45–64	95.1	95.5	96.8	96.9	97.7	81.4
65+	97.0	96.7	97.7	97.7	96.4	74.7
			Women			
15–19	5.5	4.6	6.7	5.1	22.1	5.3
20–24	43.8	38.8	52.9	47.5	62.7	36.3
25–29	75.6	73.4	84.2	81.7	84.7	62.1
30–34	89.2	84.4	93.8	90.5	89.1	71.0
35–39	93.9	89.6	96.8	93.8	89.6	71.3
40–44	95.7	93.3	97.5	96.1	90.6	68.5
45–64	96.2	96.0	97.9	97.9	94.2	68.6
65+	96.3	96.6	97.4	97.7	95.9	61.0

TABLE 14. HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE, 1972 AND 1983

Number of Persons per Household	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.	Haifa Conurb.	Israel	Muslims	Christians
		Percent Distribution, 1983					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1	19.4	21.6	19.6	21.9	18.6	7.5	23.4
2–3	33.0	36.4	40.7	43.8	39.3	16.7	27.1
4–5	27.4	28.8	32.4	28.8	32.4	20.0	27.0
6–7	11.8	9.9	6.2	4.6	7.7	21.1	15.0
8–9	4.7	2.4	0.9	0.7	1.5	16.6	5.1
10+	3.6	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.5	18.2	2.3
		Average Household Size					
1972	4.0	3.6	3.3	3.2	3.6	6.2	4.1
1983	3.8	3.3	3.1	2.9	3.2	6.3	3.8

TABLE 15. POPULATION IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION, SEX, AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1972 AND 1983[a] (PERCENT)

Year and Sex	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[b]	Haifa Conurb.[b]	Israel	Muslims	Christians
			0–4 Years of Study				
1972:							
Total	18.3	11.4	10.9	11.4	13.7	44.3	25.6
Men	13.3	7.4	8.3	9.0	10.4	34.5	22.6
Women	23.1	15.1	13.6	13.9	16.8	54.1	28.1
1983:							
Total	11.6	7.4	8.1	7.6	9.0	26.8	11.0
Men	7.8	4.7	n.a.	n.a.	6.6	18.8	6.8
Women	15.3	9.9	n.a.	n.a.	11.3	34.9	14.4
			13+ Years of Study				
1972:							
Total	21.5	26.2	16.0	17.2	14.9	4.6	12.4
Men	23.5	28.2	17.1	20.1	15.9	6.6	16.4
Women	19.6	24.4	14.3	15.1	13.9	2.5	9.1
1983:							
Total	29.9	34.8	23.2	26.3	23.1	12.7	27.4
Men	31.6	35.7	n.a.	n.a.	23.9	16.7	33.1
Women	28.3	33.9	n.a.	n.a.	22.4	8.7	23.0

[a]In 1972, ages 14 and over; in 1983, ages 15 and over.
[b]In 1972, total population, i.e., including some non-Jews.
Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 15A. POPULATION IN JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, ORIGIN, SEX, AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1983 (PERCENT)

Religion and Origin	0–4 Years of Study[a]		13+ Years of Study[a]	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total	8.1	14.7	31.8	28.4
Jews, total	4.6	8.9	35.9	34.1
Origin Israel	1.9	4.3	33.0	27.5
Origin Asia				
Born in Israel	3.7	10.7	18.3	15.8
Born abroad	11.3	24.8	21.6	20.2
Origin Africa				
Born in Israel	4.2	7.9	15.9	18.9
Born abroad	9.0	18.4	27.2	24.5
Origin Europe-America				
Born in Israel	1.3	3.2	56.1	55.2
Born abroad	1.5	2.2	56.6	54.9
Non-Jews, total	21.4	35.2	18.1	10.5
Muslims	24.9	41.9	15.3	7.7
Christians	6.3	11.5	34.3	26.6

[a]Age-standardized data according to age distribution of Jerusalem's total population (ages 15 and over); my tabulations.

TABLE 16. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION AND SPOKEN LANGUAGES, DAILY[a] AND PRINCIPAL USE, 1983 (PERCENT)[b]

Language	Total Population[c]		Jews		Muslims		Christians	
	Daily Use	Principal Use	Daily Use	Principal Use	Daily Use	Principal Use	Daily Use	Principal Use
Hebrew	72.2	62.8	93.9	84.2	8.9	0.5	12.5	3.4
Arabic	33.2	25.5	11.5	1.7	99.3	98.9	77.8	68.2
English	14.2	3.3	15.0	4.1	10.3	0.3	30.1	6.2
French	4.2	1.2	5.3	1.5	0.0	—	6.5	2.7
Yiddish	3.9	1.1	5.2	1.5	—	—	0.1	0.0
Spanish[d]	2.9	0.7	3.9	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.8	0.4
Russian	2.6	1.3	3.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.3
Persian	2.1	0.6	2.9	0.8	0.0	—	—	—
German	2.0	0.6	2.5	0.7	0.1	0.0	2.3	1.5
Rumanian	1.5	0.5	2.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.4
Hungarian	1.1	0.4	1.4	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.2
Kurdish	0.8	0.1	1.1	0.2	—	—	—	—
Polish	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.2	—	—	0.7	0.5
Grusinian[e]	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Armenian	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3	8.5
Bokharian	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	—	—
Italian	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	2.9	1.7
Greek	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.4

[a]Principal or second language in daily speech.
[b]My tabulations; the percentages in the "Daily Use" columns add up to more than 100.0, since two languages could be reported by a person.
[c]Aged 15 and over.
[d]Incl. Ladino.
[e]I.e., Georgian.

TABLE 17. PERCENTAGE IN LABOR FORCE[a] IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND SEX, 1972 AND 1983[b]

Year and Sex	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[c]	Haifa Conurb.[c]	Israel	Muslims	Christians
1972:							
Total	49.9	51.9	50.8	50.3	51.6	35.9	40.4
Men	66.5	66.7	69.9	69.3	68.4	66.1	63.7
Women	33.9	41.2	32.5	32.5	35.0	6.1	21.5
1983:							
Total	51.7	57.3	54.5	53.3	55.3	33.7	38.0
Men	63.3	64.6	68.0	66.2	67.1	59.8	54.8
Women	40.5	50.4	42.1	40.7	44.2	7.3	24.8

[a]Annual civilian labor force.
[b]In 1972, ages 14 and over; in 1983, ages 15 and over.
[c]In 1972, total population, i.e., including some non-Jews.

TABLE 17A. PERCENTAGE IN LABOR FORCE[a] IN JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, ORIGIN, AND SEX, 1983

Religion and Origin	Men[b]	Women[b]
Total	64.0	40.5
Jews, total	64.7	50.7
Origin Israel	63.3	49.6
Origin Asia		
Born in Israel	65.7	48.1
Born abroad	65.3	44.9
Origin Africa		
Born in Israel	65.1	49.1
Born abroad	65.0	49.4
Origin Europe-America		
Born in Israel	66.1	57.0
Born abroad	65.8	56.2
Non-Jews, total	60.2	10.3
Muslims	60.8	7.3
Christians	53.9	25.7

[a]Annual civilian labor force.
[b]Age-standardized data according to age distribution of Jerusalem's total population (ages 15 and over); my tabulations.

TABLE 18. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN PUBLIC AND COMMUNITY SERVICES[a] IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND SEX, 1972 AND 1983[b]

Year and Sex	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[c]	Haifa Conurb.[c]	Israel	Muslims	Christians
1972:							
Total	45.3	49.0	25.5	31.0	28.2	22.2	38.0
Men	35.4	39.5	19.5	24.6	21.8	19.0	29.3
Women	64.5	64.5	38.6	45.3	41.4	69.7	58.3
1983:							
Total	45.9	48.8	27.6	34.8	31.5	26.6	47.3
Men	34.6	37.7	n.a.	n.a.	21.8	22.2	35.0
Women	62.6	62.1	n.a.	n.a.	45.7	75.0	68.1

[a]Among annual civilian labor force.
[b]In 1972, ages 14 and over; in 1983, ages 15 and over.
[c]In 1972, total population, i.e. including some non-Jews.
Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 18A. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN PUBLIC AND COMMUNITY SERVICES[a] IN JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, ORIGIN, AND SEX, 1983

Religion and Origin	Men[b]	Women[b]
Total	34.2	62.5
Jews, total	37.2	62.0
Origin Israel	34.3	61.5
Origin Asia		
Born in Israel	29.9	61.3
Born abroad	27.5	60.3
Origin Africa		
Born in Israel	36.9	55.8
Born abroad	35.6	61.5
Origin Europe-America		
Born in Israel	48.6	68.0
Born abroad	44.5	62.0
Non-Jews, total	25.1	71.2
Muslims	23.7	72.1
Christians	34.3	67.8

[a]Among annual civilian labor force.
[b]Age-standardized data according to age distribution of Jerusalem's total labor force; my tabulations.

TABLE 19. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN ACADEMIC, OTHER PROFESSIONAL, MANAGERIAL, AND CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS[a] IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION AND SEX, 1972 AND 1983[b]

Year and Sex	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[c]	Haifa Conurb.[c]	Israel	Muslims	Christians
1972:							
Total	52.3	58.3	44.6	47.0	40.3	15.8	42.5
Men	41.9	49.2	35.6	38.3	32.2	12.3	34.2
Women	72.2	72.7	63.6	65.8	56.3	68.5	59.3
1983:							
Total	57.5	63.2	53.6	56.5	50.3	21.9	54.5
Men	45.8	53.5	n.a.	n.a.	37.3	16.5	44.9
Women	74.7	74.7	n.a.	n.a.	65.6	77.6	71.1

[a]Among annual civilian labor force.
[b]In 1972, ages 14 and over; in 1983, ages 15 and over.
[c]In 1972, total population, i.e., including some non-Jews.
Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 19A. PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN ACADEMIC, OTHER PROFESSIONAL, MANAGERIAL, AND CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS[a] IN JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION, ORIGIN, AND SEX

Religion and Origin	Men[b]	Women[b]
Total	45.3	73.5
Jews, total	52.7	73.8
Origin Israel	53.3	78.3
Origin Asia		
Born in Israel	38.8	70.9
Born abroad	35.1	57.6
Origin Africa		
Born in Israel	42.7	69.2
Born abroad	44.3	56.8
Origin Europe-America		
Born in Israel	69.5	87.2
Born abroad	67.6	78.0
Non-Jews, total	21.1	72.5
Muslims	17.3	74.0
Christians	45.2	70.8

[a]Among annual civilian labor force.
[b]Age-standardized data according to age distribution of Jerusalem's total labor force; my tabulations.

TABLE 20. SELECTED INDICATORS OF HOUSING CONDITIONS AND STANDARD OF LIVING IN JERUSALEM AND OTHER LOCATIONS, BY RELIGION, 1972[a] AND 1983

Selected Indicators	Jerusalem, total	Jews				Non-Jews, Jerusalem	
		Jerusalem	Tel Aviv Conurb.[a]	Haifa Conurb.[a]	Israel	Muslims	Christians
	1972						
% Apartments:							
With up to 2 rooms	45.1	39.9	42.0	40.0	39.8	67.2	
With 4+ rooms	16.3	17.0	11.0	13.0	13.0	4.4	
Aver. no. of persons per room	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4	2.7	
% Apartments owned by household	55.4	58.2	n.a.	n.a.	65.3[d]	45.0	
% Households possessing:							
Telephone	43.0	51.3	52.6	60.9	44.5	7.5	
Car	19.7	22.8	27.1	23.7	23.3	6.3	
Index of average income of employee-headed households (Jewish average for Israel = 100.0)[b]							
Per household	98.2	107.4	103.8	112.9	100.0	51.0	
Per person	89.6	108.1	122.4	128.7	100.0	31.4	

	1983						
% Apartments:							
Built 1975+	20.9	23.1	20.6	19.2	23.5	12.7	9.7
With up to 2 rooms	29.4	24.2	24.1	24.3	22.2	52.0	
With 4+ rooms	22.6	23.3	20.0	21.2	23.6	19.3	
Aver. no. of persons per room	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1	2.3	
% Apartments owned by household	63.0	64.7	78.0	73.2	71.8	63.7	18.7
% Households that moved into apartments 1975+	52.8	54.9	47.4	46.5	50.5[d]	41.6	
% Households possessing:							
Telephone	75.0	87.8	77.6	86.0	75.8	18.4	46.2
Car	40.2	44.8	49.5	45.5	46.4	20.6	27.9
Index of average income of employee-headed households (Jewish average for Israel = 100.0)[b]							
Per household	92.3	101.2	102.5	104.5	100.0	53.6	58.6
Per standard person[c]	86.5	104.2	105.7	107.8	100.0	34.8	53.9

[a]In 1972, total households, i.e., including some non-Jewish ones.
[b]In 1972, gross annual income in urban localities only; in 1983, net monthly income.
[c]I.e., adjusted for number of persons in household.
[d]Urban localities only.
Note: "n.a." indicates data not available.

TABLE 21. POPULATION OF JERUSALEM, BY RELIGION AND SUBQUARTER, 1983

Subquarter[a] No./Designation	Total population (thousands)	Percent Distributions				% Jews	% Muslims Among Non-Jews
		Total	Jews	Muslims	Christians		
Total	428.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.7	88.7
Old Israeli zone, total	232.7	54.2	75.1	1.4	10.2	98.7	51.6
5,6 Town Center	8.1	1.9	2.5	0.1	2.1	95.1	34.0
7,8 Me'ah She'arim, Kerem Avraham	44.6	10.4	14.5	0.0	0.3	99.8	36.8
9 Nahla'ot	9.5	2.2	3.1	0.0	0.2	99.7	13.3
10 Rehaviah	8.3	1.9	2.7	0.0	0.6	99.0	2.4
11,12 Talbieh, Katamon	15.8	3.7	5.1	0.1	2.0	97.9	14.7
13,14 Bak'a, Talpiot	20.1	4.7	6.2	0.9	2.0	93.9	76.7
15 Rassco	13.5	3.1	4.4	0.0	0.3	99.6	10.7
16 Katamonim	24.0	5.6	7.8	0.1	0.2	99.6	77.8
17,18 Romemah, Givat Sha'ul	19.3	4.5	6.3	0.0	0.2	99.0	55.6
19–21 Kiryat Moshe, Bayit va-Gan	37.4	8.7	12.1	0.1	0.7	99.7	58.8
22–24 Kiryat ha-Yovel	32.1	7.5	10.4	0.1	1.6	98.8	40.0

Ex-Jordanian zone, total	196.0	45.8	24.9	98.6	89.8	39.1	89.6
1–4 Old City	25.5	6.0	0.7	15.5	47.2	8.8	72.1
25 American Colony	7.6	1.8	0.0	5.7	10.0	0.1	32.9
26,27 Et-Tur, Beit Hanina	50.1	11.7	0.0	42.7	26.3	0.3	92.8
28 Ramat Eshkol[b]	14.8	3.4	4.7	0.2	0.4	98.2	75.8
29–31 French Hill, Neveh Ya'akov, Ramot	34.1	8.0	10.7	0.9	2.2	96.3	74.2
32,33 Silwan, Sur Bahir	36.7	8.6	0.0	33.5	2.4	0.1	99.1
34,35 East Talpiot, Gilo	27.2	6.3	8.8	0.1	1.3	98.8	42.8

[a]For principal neighborhoods in the various subquarters see map 1.
[b]Until 1967 across the armistice line and unbuilt.

TABLE 22. CHANGES IN SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF JERUSALEM'S POPULATION, BY RELIGION AND SUBQUARTER, SEPT. 1967[a]–1985

Subquarter[b] No./Designation	Total Population		Jews			Non-Jews	
	1967	1985	1967	1983	1985	1967	1985
				Thousands			
Total	267.8	457.7[d]	196.5	306.3	327.7[d]	71.3	130.0[d]
Old Israeli zone	199.2	234.3	196.5	229.7	231.2	2.7	3.1
Ex-Jordanian zone	68.6	223.4	—	76.6	96.5	68.6	126.9
				Percent			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Old Israeli zone, total	74.4	51.1	100.0	75.1	70.6	3.8	2.5
5,6 Town Center	6.0	1.5	7.9	2.5	2.1	0.9	0.3
7,8 Me'ah She'arim, Kerem Avraham	14.8	10.0	20.2	14.5	13.9	0.0	0.1
9 Nahla'ot	7.0	1.8	9.5	3.1	2.5	0.0	0.0
10 Rehaviah	3.9	1.7	5.3	2.7	2.3	0.0	0.1
11,12 Talbieh, Katamon	7.0	3.2	9.1	5.1	4.4	0.7	0.2
13,14 Bak'a, Talpiot	6.5	4.5	8.3	6.2	5.9	1.9	1.0
15 Rassco	2.1	3.0	2.8	4.4	4.1	0.0	0.1
16 Katamonim	7.5	5.3	10.2	7.8	7.3	0.1	0.1
17,18 Romemah, Givat Sha'ul	3.7	5.2	5.1	6.3	7.2	0.0	0.0
19–21 Kiryat Moshe, Bayit va-Gan	6.0	8.2	8.1	12.1	11.5	0.0	0.2
22–24 Kiryat ha-Yovel	9.9	6.8	13.5	10.4	9.4	0.2	0.4

Ex-Jordanian Zone, total	25.6	48.9	—	24.9	29.4	96.2	97.5
1–4 Old City	8.8	5.7	—	0.7	0.8	33.2	18.3
25 American Colony	2.3	1.7	—	0.0	0.0	8.7	5.9
26,27 Et-Tur, Beit Hanina	8.1	11.7	—	0.0	0.0	30.3	40.9
28 Ramat Eshkol[c]	—	3.3	—	4.7	4.5	—	0.2
29–31 French Hill, Neveh Ya'akov, Ramot	—	9.8	—	10.7	13.3	—	1.1
32,33 Silwan, Sur Bahir	6.4	8.8	—	0.0	0.0	24.0	30.7
34,35 East Talpiot, Gilo	—	7.9	—	8.8	10.8	—	0.4

[a]My estimates except for census figures of non-Jews in ex-Jordanian zone (East Jerusalem).
[b,c]See notes [a] and [b] to table 21.
[d]Including some persons whose domicile was not known.

TABLE 23. CHANGES IN SIZE AND DENSITY OF JERUSALEM'S POPULATION, BY SUBQUARTER, SEPT. 1967[a]–1985

Subquarter[b] No./Designation	Population (Thousands) 1967	Population (Thousands) 1985	% Change	Density[c] 1967	Density[c] 1985
Total	267.8	457.7[d]	+71	2.5	4.2
Old Israeli zone, total	199.0	234.0	+18	5.3	6.3
5,6 Town Center	16.1	7.1	−56	12.6	5.6
7,8 Me'ah She'arim, Kerem Avraham	39.6	45.5	+15	14.9	17.1
9 Nahla'ot	18.7	8.2	−56	30.4	13.3
10 Rehaviah	10.4	7.7	−26	16.2	12.0
11,12 Talbieh, Katamon	18.5	14.9	−19	10.5	8.5
13,14 Bak'a, Talpiot	17.5	20.5	+17	4.0	4.8
15 Rassco	5.6	13.5	+141	4.8	11.5
16 Katamonim	20.1	24.0	+19	9.8	11.7
17,18 Romemah, Givat Sha'ul	10.0	23.6	+136	1.5	3.7
19–21 Kiryat Moshe, Bayit va-Gan	16.0	37.7	+135	1.8	4.2
22–24 Kiryat ha-Yovel	26.5	31.3	+18	3.6	4.2

Ex-Jordanian zone, total	68.6	222.6	+224	1.0	3.2
1–4 Old City	23.7	26.2	+10	27.2	30.1
25 American Colony	6.2	7.6	+22	4.1	5.0
26,27 Et-Tur, Beit Hanina	21.6	53.2	+146	1.0	2.4
28 Ramat Eshkol[c]	—	15.0	great	—	10.5
29–31 French Hill, Neveh Ya'akov, Ramot	—	44.9	great	—	3.2
32,33 Silwan, Sur Bahir	17.1	39.8	+132	0.6	1.5
34,35 East Talpiot, Gilo	—	35.9	great	—	9.4

[a,d] See notes [a] and [d] to table 22.
[b,c] See notes [a] and [b] to table 21.
[c] Thousands of inhabitants per square kilometer.

Demographic

Jewish Population in the United States, 1986

THIS SECTION OF the AJYB, which is being presented in a revised format, is the work of a team of researchers associated with a new institution on the communal scene, the North American Jewish Data Bank. Created in 1986 as a joint endeavor of the Council of Jewish Federations and the Center for Jewish Studies of the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, the data bank's main task is the collection and study of population and survey data on Jewish communities in the United States and Canada, using advanced information-retrieval techniques. Through its services to Jewish federations, other communal agencies, and the academic community, the research group aims both to assist the communal planning process and to further scholarly investigation of significant contemporary Jewish issues.

One justification for the foundation of the data bank was the completion over the previous decade of more than 40 local Jewish population surveys, carried out by Jewish communities across the country, mainly the largest, with most of the studies leading to major reassessments of Jewish population counts. The availability of a sizable body of up-to-date, reasonably reliable data now makes it possible to place the annual collection of population estimates into a wider geographical and sociohistorical context, thereby providing a broader perspective on the dynamics of social change among American Jews.

CHANGING PATTERNS IN GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION, 1930–1986

Among the many demographic characteristics of American Jews that are regularly studied and written about, one that has received less attention than it deserves is geographic distribution—the patterns of Jewish movement and settlement within the borders of the United States. Whether there has been a consistent pattern, or whether and how the pattern has changed, is a subject of more than academic interest. Apart from adding to our understanding of American Jewry generally, the

matter of distribution has enormous practical implications for Jewish organizational life and for planning communal services.

This survey examines changes that have taken place in the last two generations, focusing specifically on the years 1930 and 1986. To help place these recent developments in perspective, a brief review of the period prior to 1930 is in order.

The first large migration of Jews to the United States, that of German Jews in the early to middle 19th century, settled primarily in the interior of the country, particularly in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin. While non-Jewish German immigrants tended to remain in the areas of their first settlement, many German Jews moved on to California, to other parts of the West, and to the pre-Civil War South, all areas that offered growing economic opportunities.

By contrast, the mass migration of East European Jews—over a million and a half between 1881 and 1914—tended to remain in the ports of entry, particularly in New York City and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. In 1900, of the estimated 1,058,000 Jews in the United States, 57 percent lived in the Northeast. Close to half (46 percent) lived in New York City, and nearly a third (30 percent) resided in Manhattan, the majority on the Lower East Side. Over the next 30 years, as large-scale migration continued, Jewish concentration in the Northeast rose still higher: in 1930, 68 percent of American Jews were residents of the New England and Middle Atlantic states.[1]

The tables that follow document and illustrate the changes that have taken place since 1930. A word first, however, on the quality of the data. We are much more sure of the figures for the recent period, i.e., 1980–1986, then we are for those from the 1930s. Since the early data were often based upon "guesstimates" reported by key informants, in many instances our 1930–1936 numbers represent, at best, approximations or orders of magnitude.[2] For the recent period, the figures come from the large number of communal surveys that have been carried out, mostly by professional demographers.

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[1]For an overview of East European Jewish migration, see Simon Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure," *Perspectives in American History*, vol. 9, 1975, pp. 35–124. On 19th-century German Jewish migration to and within the United States, see Avraham Barkai, "German-Jewish Migration in the Nineteenth Century, 1830–1910," in Ira A. Glazier and Luigi De Rosa (eds.), *Migration Across Time and Nations* (New York, 1986), pp. 202–215. Discussions of the changing geographic distribution of 20th-century American Jewry are presented in Sidney Goldstein, "Population Movement and Redistribution Among American Jews," in U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography, 1981* (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 315–341, and Sidney Goldstein, "Jews in the United States: Perspectives from Demography," AJYB, vol. 81, 1981, pp. 3–59.

[2]An introduction to the issue of the Jewish population estimates of the 1930s may be found in Ira Rosenwaike, "A Synthetic Estimate of American Jewish Population Movement over the Last Three Decades," in U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. DellaPergola (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography, 1977* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 83–102.

Although the U.S. Jewish population continued to increase during the past half century, its rate of growth slowed considerably. At the same time, because the growth of the Jewish population did not keep up with that of the general population (which almost doubled during this period), the relative size of the Jewish population of the United States fell by about 30 percent, from 3.6 percent of the total population to 2.5 percent.

Table 1 compares the Jewish population of the United States in 1930 and 1986, in absolute numbers and in the Jewish proportions of each state's overall population. The largest increase in absolute numbers occurred in California, where the Jewish population went up by 691,000 persons over the two-generation period. The next largest gain was Florida's, which increased by 506,000. If we look at change as a multiple, i.e., the 1986 figure as a multiple of the 1930 figure—in order to determine relative increases—then the greatest growth occurred in Hawaii, where the Jewish population increased 95 times, and in Nevada, where it went up 76 times. The greatest absolute decline occurred in Illinois, which went down by 86,000, with the next largest absolute decline occurring in Pennsylvania, which lost 63,000. The greatest relative losses were incurred by Wyoming at 77 percent and Iowa at 69 percent.

An increase or decrease in absolute size was frequently accompanied by a corresponding change in relative Jewish population size, but not in all cases. For example, Alabama's Jewish population declined in absolute numbers and also as a percent of the total population of the state. In Alaska, however, the number of Jews rose from 700 to 1,000, but since the total population of Alaska increased even more rapidly, the relative size of the Alaskan Jewish population was reduced. Arizona's Jewish population, which increased over 40-fold during the period, grew more rapidly than did the population of the state as a whole. As a result, whereas Jews were 0.3 percent of the population in 1930, they accounted for 2.1 percent in 1986.

Analysis of the figures reveals the dramatic changes that have taken place in the last 50 years. The much publicized shifting of Jewish population to the Sunbelt is reflected in the figures for California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and Florida and in the medium gains shown in Colorado, Texas, and some of the southern states (e.g., Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia). Contrary to the common perception, the Northeast—with the exception of one state, Pennsylvania—has shown continual Jewish population growth, with several states, notably New Hampshire and Vermont, experiencing significant increases. The areas of greatest decline in Jewish population were in the high plains (Montana, Wyoming, the Dakotas), the Midwest, and the south-central states (Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas).

Is there anything special about these Jewish population shifts, or have Jews simply followed in the footsteps of other Americans? For example, we know that the West Coast has grown enormously over the past 56 years. Did Jewish growth in that area parallel the general population growth, or did it differ in any significant way?

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION, BY STATE, 1930/1986

State	1930		1986	
	Estimated Jewish Population	Estimated Jewish % of Total	Estimated Jewish Population	Estimated Jewish % of Total
Total United States	4,228,000	3.6	5,814,000	2.5
Alabama	13,000	0.5	10,000	0.3
Alaska	700	1.2	1,000	0.2
Arizona	1,500	0.3	64,000	2.1
Arkansas	9,000	0.5	2,000	0.1
California	123,000	2.2	814,000	3.2
Colorado	20,000	1.9	48,000	1.5
Connecticut	92,000	5.6	107,000	3.4
Delaware	5,500	2.2	9,500	1.6
District of Columbia	16,000	3.3	24,000	3.9
Florida	13,000	1.0	519,000	4.7
Georgia	23,000	0.8	60,000	1.0
Hawaii	80	0.1	7,600	0.7
Idaho	1,000	0.2	500	0.1
Illinois	346,000	4.7	260,000	2.2
Indiana	27,000	0.9	20,000	0.4
Iowa	16,000	0.7	6,600	0.2
Kansas	8,000	0.4	15,000	0.6
Kentucky	20,000	0.8	12,000	0.3
Louisiana	16,000	0.9	17,000	0.4
Maine	8,500	1.1	9,000	0.8
Maryland	71,000	4.4	203,000	4.6
Massachusetts	226,000	5.3	273,000	4.7
Michigan	89,000	2.0	82,000	0.9
Minnesota	43,000	1.6	31,000	0.8
Mississippi	6,500	0.4	3,000	0.1
Missouri	81,000	2.3	65,000	1.3
Montana	1,500	0.2	500	0.1
Nebraska	14,000	1.0	7,000	0.4

TABLE 1.—*(Continued)*

State	1930		1986	
	Estimated Jewish Population	Estimated Jewish % of Total	Estimated Jewish Population	Estimated Jewish % of Total
Nevada	250	0.3	19,000	2.1
New Hampshire	3,000	0.6	7,000	0.7
New Jersey	225,000	5.6	421,000	5.6
New Mexico	1,000	0.3	5,500	0.4
New York	1,904,000	15.1	1,911,000	10.8
North Carolina	8,500	0.3	14,000	0.2
North Dakota	2,500	0.4	1,000	0.1
Ohio	174,000	2.6	138,000	1.3
Oklahoma	8,000	0.3	6,000	0.2
Oregon	13,000	1.5	11,000	0.4
Pennsylvania	405,000	4.2	342,000	2.9
Rhode Island	25,000	3.6	17,500	1.8
South Carolina	7,000	0.4	8,000	0.2
South Dakota	1,500	0.2	500	0.1
Tennessee	23,000	0.9	20,000	0.4
Texas	47,000	0.9	95,000	0.6
Utah	3,000	0.6	3,000	0.2
Vermont	2,000	0.6	3,600	0.7
Virginia	26,000	1.0	60,000	1.1
Washington	15,000	0.9	23,000	0.5
West Virginia	7,500	0.4	4,000	0.2
Wisconsin	36,000	1.2	31,000	0.7
Wyoming	1,300	0.6	400	0.1

Sources: 1930 estimates are from AJYB, vol. 33, 1931–1932, p. 276, and U.S. Census of Population, 1930. 1986 figures are from Appendix table A-1, below, but have been rounded for ease of comparison.

Table 2 enables us to compare Jewish and general population change, state by state, by means of a simple index. The number 1.0 indicates that the proportion of Jews in a state did not change over the 56 years, while numbers over 1.0 indicate an increase in the Jewish proportion and numbers less than 1.0 a decrease. We

TABLE 2. INDEX OF JEWISH POPULATION CHANGE RELATIVE TO GENERAL POPULATION CHANGE, BY STATE, 1930/1986

(1.00 = Equivalent Change)

1. Hawaii	44.1	26. Wisconsin	.71
2. Nevada	10.1	27. Oklahoma	.71
3. Arizona	8.0	28. Alabama	.69
4. Florida	7.0	29. Louisiana	.67
5. New Mexico	2.1	30. Rhode Island	.66
6. California	1.9	31. Illinois	.65
7. Kansas	1.8	32. Michigan	.65
8. Georgia	1.7	33. Ohio	.64
9. Vermont	1.6	34. Tennessee	.63
10. Maryland	1.4	35. Minnesota	.59
11. New Hampshire	1.4	36. West Virginia	.57
12. Virginia	1.3	37. Indiana	.57
13. New Jersey	1.3	38. Kentucky	.57
14. Massachusetts	1.2	39. Nebraska	.55
15. North Carolina	1.1	40. North Dakota	.50
16. Colorado	1.0	41. Mississippi	.49
17. Texas	.96	42. Iowa	.46
18. Maine	.95	43. South Dakota	.43
19. New York	.93	44. Oregon	.39
20. Pennsylvania	.90	45. Utah	.36
21. Delaware	.88	46. Arkansas	.26
22. South Carolina	.81	47. Idaho	.24
23. Connecticut	.78	48. Montana	.24
24. Missouri	.76	49. Alaska	.21
25. Washington	.75	50. Wyoming	.16

Washington, D.C. 1.6

arrived at the index numbers by dividing the proportion of the state's population that was Jewish in 1986 by the proportion that was Jewish in 1930. Then, to allow for the fact that the Jewish population nationwide grew only 69 percent as much as the general population, we further divided the total state increases by a constant of 0.69.

Looking now at table 2, we note that the Jewish populations of Arizona, Nevada, Hawaii, Florida, and New Mexico grew at a rate at least twice that of each state's population as a whole. California's Jewish population growth was significantly

greater than that of the state, and the Georgia and Washington, D.C., Jewish populations also grew much more rapidly than did the general populations of those areas. The Northeast, which was thought to have been in decline, largely maintained its relative Jewish population size, with some states increasing a bit and others declining. The major East Coast increases were in Virginia and Maryland, reflecting the growth in the Washington, D.C., suburbs. The most significant declines were in the Midwest, the south-central states, and the northern plains.

What lies behind the differing rates of Jewish and general population growth? We suggest that the Jewish "overgrowth," that is, the rate of increase in the Jewish population beyond that of the general population, occurred precisely in those areas of the country that were experiencing the greatest economic development. A recent congressional study on patterns of economic growth in the United States reported annual growth rates of 4.0 percent for the two coasts but only 1.4 percent for the country's interior.[1] A closer examination of the data suggests that those parts of the country that were part of the postindustrial "high-tech" economy and that showed the greatest economic growth also had the highest increases in Jewish population. Those areas whose economies were based on extraction, agriculture, and heavy manufacturing showed the slowest rates of economic growth as well as the greatest absolute and relative losses in Jewish population. For the period 1981–1985, the ten states whose Jewish population increased significantly faster than the general population experienced average (unweighted) growth of wages and proprietorships of 20.3 percent. In the ten states showing the lowest Jewish population growth or even Jewish population decline, average economic growth for the five-year period was only 3.1 percent.

To test the thesis further, we have examined Jewish and general population shifts in the United States over the 50-year period 1935–1986. As the data summarized in table 3 demonstrate, there is a much clearer and stronger relationship between population distribution and economic growth for the Jewish population than for the nation as a whole.[2]

The high educational attainments of Jews and their changing occupational profile have been amply studied and documented.[3] The last 25 years have seen significant movement out of light manufacturing and merchandising and into high-tech occupations, management, and word, number, and paper functions generally, often in

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[1]Democratic Staff of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, *The Bi-Coastal Economy*, 1986, typescript.

[2]The Chi squares for the Jewish and general populations, respectively, are 61.6 and 55.6 with 4 degrees of freedom.

[3]See, for example, David L. Featherman, "The Socioeconomic Achievement of White Religio-Ethnic Subgroups," *American Sociological Review*, April 1971, pp. 207–222; Sidney Goldstein, "Jews in the United States: Perspectives from Demography," AJYB, vol. 81, 1981, pp. 3–59; and Barry R. Chiswick, "The Labor Market Status of American Jews: Patterns and Determinants," AJYB, vol. 85, 1985, pp. 131–153.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF STATES WITH HIGH POPULATION INCREASES, TOTAL AND JEWISH, BY ECONOMIC GROWTH OF STATES, 1930–1985

States Categorized by Economic Growth[a]	% of States with High Population Increase[b]	
	Total	Jewish
High growth (14 states)	43	57
Med. growth (21 states)	52	29
Low growth (15 states)	27	7

[a]Based on per capita income, by state.
[b]Defined as significantly above-average proportional growth.

government and academic settings. The data on population and economic growth presented here suggest that Jews have been more responsive to opportunity and more willing to move to take advantage of opportunities offered than the population at large.

Further evidence in support of the proposition is seen in the growth of Jewish population in cities and metropolitan areas within states that otherwise showed declines in Jewish population. Such communities include Champaign-Urbana, Illinois; Carbondale, Illinois; Bloomington, Indiana; Ames, Iowa; Madison, Wisconsin; Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Lansing, Michigan. Some of these are college or university towns, others are state capitals. Still other instances are locales dominated by specific industries that attracted large numbers of Jewish employees. Two such examples are Rochester, Minnesota, the home of the Mayo Clinic, and Huntsville, Alabama, site of a major aerospace installation.

Given the propensity of Jews to move in search of jobs, it is not surprising to find that the Jewish population has become more diffused over the last 50 years. This is seen clearly in tables 4A and 4B, which compare the Jewish populations of metropolitan areas in the mid-1930s and mid-1980s.[5] The New York–Northern New Jersey–Lower Connecticut area has remained the largest Jewish population center, but its share of total U.S. Jewish population has been reduced from over one-half to a bit less than two-fifths. Chicago has been replaced by Los Angeles in second

[5]In order to provide a valid comparison, every effort has been made to use the same geographic units for the two time periods, basing them on the official designations in use in 1986. It should be borne in mind that in respect to Jewish distribution, the entities are not wholly comparable. In the 1930s, Jews were heavily concentrated in urban areas. By the 1980s, as a result of the tremendous growth of suburbs following World War II, metropolitan communities had become embedded in complex urban regions, in which Jews tended to be widely dispersed. However, while Jews in metropolitan areas are now physically widely dispersed, in various important ways they can still be viewed as discrete "communities."

TABLE 4A. RANK-ORDERED METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1936, BY JEWISH POPULATION

Metro Area	Estimated Jewish Population	Jewish % of Total Population	% Share of U.S. Jewish Population	Cumulative % Share of Jewish Population
1. New York-Northern N.J.	2,600,000	20.1	55.8	55.8
2. Chicago	378,000	7.8	7.9	63.7
3. Philadelphia-Camden	312,000	9.9	6.5	70.3
4. Boston	217,000	7.7	4.5	74.8
5. Cleveland	104,000	7.7	2.2	77.0
6. Los Angeles	96,000	3.3	2.0	79.0
7. Detroit	94,000	3.9	2.0	80.9
8. Pittsburgh-SW Pa.	75,000	3.0	1.6	82.5
9. Baltimore	74,000	6.7	1.6	84.1
10. St. Louis	56,000	4.0	1.2	85.2
11. San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose	52,000	3.2	1.1	86.3
12. Minneapolis-St. Paul	35,000	3.6	.7	87.1
13. New Haven	35,000	7.2	.7	87.8
14. Milwaukee	32,000	3.2	.7	88.5
15. Kansas City	29,000	3.9	.6	89.1
16. Hartford	28,000	6.4	.6	89.6
17. Providence	27,000	4.4	.6	90.2
18. Cincinnati	24,000	2.6	.5	90.7
19. Rochester	24,000	5.4	.5	91.2
20. Buffalo	23,000	2.5	.5	91.7
21. Scranton-Wilkes Barre	23,000	3.1	.5	92.2
22. Washington, D.C.	19,000	2.4	.4	92.6
23. Denver	19,000	4.5	.4	93.0
24. Albany	17,000	3.7	.4	93.3
25. Houston	16,000	2.4	.3	93.7
26. Seattle	15,000	1.9	.3	94.0
27. Worcester	15,000	3.1	.3	94.3

TABLE 4A.—*(Continued)*

Metro Area	Estimated Jewish Population	Jewish % of Total Population	% Share of U.S. Jewish Population	Cumulative % Share of Jewish Population
28. Springfield, Mass.	15,000	4.4	.3	94.6
29. Syracuse	15,000	5.0	.3	94.9
30. Atlantic City	14,000	11.4	.3	95.2

Source: AJYB, vol. 42, 1940–1941.

place and has dropped to fifth place. The decline of the industrial cities of Cleveland, Detroit, and Pittsburgh and the rapid rise of Miami and San Francisco reflect both Jewish occupational change and the emergence of new life-styles and social patterns. The university-government bias in Jewish employment has produced not only the slight increase of Jewish population in cities like Baltimore and Boston but most notably the rise of Washington, D.C., as a major Jewish center.

To appreciate fully the extent to which increased mobility has changed the face of the American Jewish community it is useful to examine the changing proportions of the total Jewish population residing in various locales. New York, for example, which was home to 56 percent of U.S. Jews in 1936, could claim only 38 percent in 1986. By contrast, two communities in Florida—Miami–Ft. Lauderdale and W. Palm Beach–Boca Raton—were not even among the "top 30" in 1935; in 1986, they ranked 3rd and 10th, respectively, in Jewish population size and jointly accounted for 8 percent of U.S. Jewry.

The cumulative totals (last columns of tables 4A and 4B) are the most telling. Whereas in the mid-1930s, 90 percent of the country's Jewish population was found in 17 metropolitan areas, in the 1980s, in order to reach 90 percent it was necessary to include over 30 metropolitan areas. (It is interesting to compare this with the situation in Canada, where two metropolitan regions, Toronto and Montreal, accounted for 74 percent of the country's Jewish population, and 90 percent of the country's Jewish population was to be found in only six metropolitan areas.)

In summary, this review of national geographical data has highlighted several key attributes of American Jewish population distribution and movement. First, even though it has experienced declining numbers, the Northeast still has a disproportionate share of Jewish population. Second, the U.S. Jewish population seems to be more mobile than the nation's population generally, apparently more willing to pull up stakes in search of occupational advancement. This has clear implications for communal planners, who should be keeping an eye on changes in local economic conditions. Finally, and this too has implications for communal organization, there are more Jewish population centers than in the past, but with fewer Jews in each center.

TABLE 4B. RANK-ORDERED METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1986, BY JEWISH POPULATION

Metro Area	Estimated Jewish Population	Jewish % of Total Population	% Share of U.S. Jewish Population	Cumulative % Share of Jewish Population
1. New York-Northern N.J.*	2,216,000	12.4	38.1	38.1
2. Los Angeles*	604,000	4.7	10.4	48.5
3. Miami-Ft. Lauderdale*	367,000	12.8	6.3	54.8
4. Philadelphia-Wilmington-Trenton*	309,000	5.4	5.3	60.1
5. Chicago*	254,000	3.1	4.4	64.5
6. Boston*	235,000	5.8	4.0	68.6
7. Washington, D.C.	159,000	4.6	2.7	71.3
8. San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose*	136,000	2.3	2.3	73.6
9. Baltimore	101,000	4.5	1.7	75.3
10. W. Palm Beach-Boca Raton	95,000	13.1	1.6	77.0
11. Cleveland-Akron*	77,000	2.8	1.3	78.3
12. Detroit-Ann Arbor*	74,000	1.6	1.3	79.6
13. St. Louis	54,000	2.2	0.9	80.5
14. Atlanta	52,000	2.1	.9	81.4
15. Pittsburgh*	47,000	2.0	.8	82.2
16. Phoenix	45,000	2.4	.8	83.0
17. Denver-Boulder*	45,000	2.5	.8	83.7
18. Houston-Galveston*	43,000	1.2	.7	84.5

TABLE 4B.—*(Continued)*

Metro Area	Estimated Jewish Population	Jewish % of Total Population	% Share of U.S. Jewish Population	Cumulative % Share of Jewish Population
19. San Diego	37,000	1.2	.6	85.1
20. Minneapolis-St. Paul	30,000	1.3	.5	85.6
21. Hartford	28,000	2.7	.5	86.1
22. Dallas-Ft. Worth*	27,000	0.8	.5	86.6
23. Milwaukee*	24,000	1.6	.4	87.0
24. New Haven	24,000	4.7	.4	87.4
25. Cincinnati*	23,000	1.4	.4	87.8
26. Kansas City	22,000	1.5	.4	88.2
27. Seattle-Tacoma*	20,000	0.9	.3	88.6
28. Rochester	20,000	2.1	.3	88.9
29. Tampa-St. Petersburg	20,000	1.1	.3	89.2
30. Albany-Schenectady-Troy	20,000	2.3	.3	89.5

Sources: Boundaries and general population estimates, Bureau of the Census, June 1985. Areas marked * = CMSA (Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area); otherwise unit is PMSA (Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area). Jewish figures, Appendix table A-3, below.

1986 JEWISH POPULATION ESTIMATES

The Jewish population of the United States in 1986 was estimated to be 5.814 million. This figure is approximately the same order of magnitude as that reported for 1985.

The basic population units used in this analysis are the fund-raising areas of local Jewish federations. These geographic units vary in size and may represent several towns, one county, or an aggregate of several counties. Some estimates, from areas without federations, are from UJA field representatives. Still other estimates have been given by local rabbis and other informed Jewish community leaders.

The state and regional totals shown in Appendix tables A-1 and A-2 are derived by summing the individual estimates shown in table A-3 and then making three adjustments. First, communities of less than 100 are added. Second, duplicated

counts within states are eliminated. Third, communities whose populations reside in two or more states (e.g., Kansas City and Washington, D.C.) are distributed accordingly.

The reader should be aware that population estimating is not an exact science, and that collection procedures can result in annual fluctuations in community or state totals. It is also important to note that the results of a completed local demographic study often change the previously reported Jewish population figure, even where there has been no actual demographic change. Thus, even though the 1986 totals for Florida, New Jersey, and Arizona show Jewish population losses over 1985, these new lower figures are solely the result of adjustments of previous data.

In determining Jewish population, communities count both affiliated and nonaffiliated residents. In most cases, counts are made by households, with that number multiplied by the average number of self-defined Jewish persons per household. In a few instances, the reported totals from local surveys include spouses and children who are declared to be non-Jewish by the responding household head. While every effort has been made to exclude non-Jews from the figures, this has not always been feasible. We calculate that non-Jews *not* excluded comprise under 2 percent of the national Jewish population. Some areas, such as in the Sunbelt region, often include part-time residents in their totals. In the interest of accuracy and consistency, adjustments have been made for such overcounts.

Among the communities reporting substantial Jewish population increases in 1986 were Birmingham, Alabama; Palm Springs, Orange County, and Sacramento, California; Palm Beach County, Florida; Honululu, Hawaii; Howard County, Maryland; Atlantic County, New Jersey; Houston, Texas, and the Boston metropolitan region, Massachusetts.

As a result of our efforts to widen the coverage of the population counts in order to make them as comprehensive as possible, a number of college towns not previously included now appear in table A-3, e.g., Greenville, North Carolina; Lawrence, Kansas, and Hanover, New Hampshire. In all cases, their numbers report only permanent Jewish residents.

In order to better aid the reader in assessing the data in table A-3, several changes in notation have been introduced. The footnotes detailing the areas included in particular communities have been expanded and grouped by state. Also: one asterisk indicates that the population includes the entire county; two asterisks indicate a two-county area; three asterisks indicate that the Jewish population figure has not been updated for several years.

BARRY A. KOSMIN
PAUL RITTERBAND
JEFFREY SCHECKNER

APPENDIX

TABLE A-1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1986

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish % of Total
Alabama	10,240	3,990,000	0.3
Alaska	960	500,000	0.2
Arizona	63,930	3,053,000	2.1
Arkansas	2,300	2,349,000	0.1
California	813,525	25,622,000	3.2
Colorado	48,145	3,178,000	1.5
Connecticut	107,120	3,154,000	3.4
Delaware	9,500	613,000	1.6
District of Columbia	24,285	622,823	3.9
Florida	518,990	10,976,000	4.7
Georgia	60,040	5,837,000	1.0
Hawaii	7,600	1,039,000	0.7
Idaho	420	1,001,000	0.1
Illinois	260,390	11,511,000	2.2
Indiana	20,045	5,498,000	0.4
Iowa	6,615	2,910,000	0.2
Kansas	14,600	2,438,000	0.6
Kentucky	12,240	3,723,000	0.3
Louisiana	17,230	4,462,000	0.4
Maine	8,870	1,156,000	0.8
Maryland	203,340	4,439,000	4.6
Massachusetts	273,060	5,798,000	4.7
Michigan	82,260	9,075,000	0.9
Minnesota	31,285	4,162,000	0.8
Mississippi	3,005	2,598,000	0.1
Missouri	64,590	5,008,000	1.3
Montana	425	824,000	0.1
Nebraska	6,955	1,606,000	0.4
Nevada	19,300	911,000	2.1
New Hampshire	6,950	977,000	0.7
New Jersey	420,850	7,515,000	5.6
New Mexico	5,510	1,424,000	0.4
New York	1,911,300	17,735,000	10.8

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish % of Total
North Carolina	14,400	6,165,000	0.2
North Dakota	970	686,000	0.1
Ohio	137,750	10,752,000	1.3
Oklahoma	5,820	3,298,000	0.2
Oregon	11,050	2,674,000	0.4
Pennsylvania	342,835	11,901,000	2.9
Rhode Island	17,500	962,000	1.8
South Carolina	8,245	3,300,000	0.2
South Dakota	525	706,000	0.1
Tennessee	19,635	4,717,000	0.4
Texas	94,655	15,989,000	0.6
Utah	2,700	1,652,000	0.2
Vermont	3,620	530,000	0.7
Virginia	60,375	5,636,000	1.1
Washington	22,815	4,149,000	0.5
West Virginia	3,770	1,952,000	0.2
Wisconsin	31,425	4,766,000	0.7
Wyoming	355	511,000	0.1
U.S. TOTAL	**5,814,000	236,031,000	2.5

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

*Resident population, July 1, 1984, provisional. (Source: *Provisional Estimates of the Population of Counties: July 1984,* Bureau of the Census, series P-26, No. 84-52-C, March 1985.)

**Exclusive of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which previously reported Jewish populations of 1,800 and 510, respectively.

TABLE A-2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1986

Region	Total Population	% Distribution	Jewish Population	% Distribution
Northeast:	49,728,000	21.1	3,092,105	53.2
New England	12,577,000	5.3	417,120	7.2
Middle Atlantic	37,151,000	15.7	2,674,985	46.0
North Central:	59,118,000	25.0	657,405	11.3
East North Central	41,602,000	17.6	531,870	9.1
West North Central	17,516,000	7.4	125,535	2.2
South:	80,667,000	34.2	1,068,070	18.4
South Atlantic	39,541,000	16.8	902,945	15.5
East South Central	15,028,000	6.4	45,120	0.8
West South Central	26,098,000	11.1	120,005	2.1
West:	46,538,000	19.7	996,735	17.1
Mountain	12,554,000	5.3	140,785	2.4
Pacific	33,984,000	14.4	855,950	14.7
TOTALS	236,031,000	100.0	5,814,000	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE A-3. COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1986 (ESTIMATED)

State and City	Jewish Population
ALABAMA	
Anniston	100
*Auburn	100
*Birmingham	5,100
Dothan	205
Florence (incl. in Sheffield total)	
Gadsden	180
Huntsville	550
Jasper	130
**Mobile	1,250
**Montgomery	1,650
Selma	210
Sheffield	150
Tuscaloosa	315
Tuscumbia (incl. in Sheffield total)	
ALASKA	
Anchorage	600
Fairbanks	210
ARIZONA	
*Flagstaff	250
*Phoenix	45,000
*Tucson	18,000
Yuma	100
ARKANSAS	
Fayetteville	120
Ft. Smith	160
Helena	100
Hot Springs (incl. in Little Rock)	
**Little Rock	1,250
Pine Bluff	100
Southeast Arkansas[N]	140
***Wynne-Forest City	110
CALIFORNIA	
Alameda & Contra Costa counties	35,000
Antelope Valley	375
Bakersfield (incl. in Kern County)	
Berkeley (incl. in Alameda & Contra Costa total)	
***El Centro	125
***Elsinore	250
Eureka	250
***Fontana	165
*Fresno	2,000
Kern County	850
Lancaster (incl. in Antelope Valley)	
Long Beach (also incl. in Los Angeles total)[N]	13,500
Los Angeles Metro. Area	500,870
***Merced	100
Modesto	260
Monterey	1,500
Oakland (incl. in Alameda & Contra Costa counties)	
Ontario (incl. in Pomona Valley)	
Orange County	80,000
Palm Springs[N]	8,950
Pasadena (also incl. in L.A. Metro. Area)	2,000
Petaluma	800
Pomona Valley[N]	3,500
Riverside	1,325
Sacramento[N]	10,000
Salinas	350
San Bernardino	2,065
*San Diego	37,000
San Francisco[N]	80,000
*San Jose (Palo Alto & Los Altos incl. in San Francisco total)	18,000
San Luis Obispo	450
***San Pedro	300
*Santa Barbara	3,800
Santa Cruz	1,000
Santa Maria	200
Santa Monica (also incl. in Los Angeles total)	8,000
Santa Rosa	750
*Stockton	1,500
***Sun City	800
Tulare & Kings County	500
Vallejo	400
*Ventura County	7,000
COLORADO	
Boulder (incl. in Denver total)	
Colorado Springs	1,000
Denver[N]	45,000
*Ft. Collins	1,000
Greely	100
Loveland (incl. in Ft. Collins total)	
Pueblo	375
CONNECTICUT	
Bridgeport[N]	18,000
Bristol	250
Colchester	525
Danbury[N]	3,500
Greenwich	4,950
Hartford[N]	26,000

State and City	Jewish Population
***Lebanon	175
Lower Middlesex County (incl. in New London)	
Manchester (incl. in Hartford)	
Meriden	1,400
Middletown	1,300
***Moodus	150
New Haven[N]	22,000
New London[N]	3,600
***New Milford	200
Newtown (incl. in Danbury)	
Norwalk[N]	4,000
Norwich	2,500
Putnam	110
Rockville (incl. in Hartford)	
Shelton (incl. in Valley Area)	
Stamford/New Canaan	12,000
Torrington	560
Valley Area[N]	700
***Wallingford	440
Waterbury[N]	2,700
Westport (also incl. in Norwalk)	2,800
Willimantic	400
***Winsted	110
DELAWARE	
Wilmington (incl.rest of state)	9,500
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
Greater Washington[N]	157,335
FLORIDA	
Boca Raton-Delray	45,000
Brevard County	2,250
**Daytona Beach	2,000
Fort Lauderdale[N]	60,000
Fort Pierce	270
Gainesville	1,000
Hollywood[N]	60,000
**Jacksonville	6,800
Key West	170
Lakeland	800
Lee County (incl. Ft. Myers)	3,500
Lehigh Acres	125
*Miami (incl.all of Dade County)	247,000
**Orlando	9,000
Palm Beach County (excl. Boca Raton-Delray)	50,000
Pensacola	400
Port Charlotte	150
**Sarasota	8,500
***St. Augustine	100
*St.Petersburg (incl. Clearwater)	9,500
Tallahassee	1,000
*Tampa	10,500
GEORGIA	
Albany	525
Athens	250
Atlanta Metro. Area	52,000
Augusta[N]	1,400
***Brunswick	120
**Columbus	1,000
Dalton	235
Fitzgerald-Cordele	125
Macon	90
*Savannah	2,600
Valdosta	145
HAWAII	
Hilo	280
Honolulu (incl. all of Oahu)	7,000
Kuaii	100
Maui	220
IDAHO	
Boise	120
Lewiston	100
Moscow (incl. in Lewiston total)	
ILLINOIS	
Aurora	320
Bloomington	125
*Champaign-Urbana	2,000
Chicago Metro. Area	248,000
Danville	240
*Decatur	230
East St. Louis (incl. in Southern Ill.)	
Elgin[N]	700
Galesburg	120
*Joliet	850
Kankakee	260
*Peoria	1,200
Quad Cities[N]	1,700
Quincy	200
Rock Island (incl. in Quad Cities)	
Rockford[N]	975
Southern Illinois[N]	900
*Springfield	1,100
***Sterling-Dixon	110
Waukegan	1,200
INDIANA	
Anderson	105
Bloomington	300
Elkart (incl. in South Bend)	
***Evansville	1,200
Ft. Wayne	1,170
Gary (incl. in Northwest Ind.-Calumet Region)	

State and City	Jewish Population
**Indianapolis	10,000
Lafayette[N]	600
Marion	170
*Michigan City	430
Muncie	175
Northwest Ind.-Calumet Region[N]	2,700
Richmond	110
***Shelbyville	240
South Bend[N]	1,900
Terre Haute	450
IOWA	
Ames	200
Cedar Rapids	300
Council Bluffs (also incl. in Omaha total)	150
Davenport (incl. in Quad Cities, Ill.)	
*Des Moines	3,000
***Dubuque	105
Iowa City	750
***Mason City	110
***Muscatine	120
**Sioux City	700
Waterloo	450
KANSAS	
Kansas City (incl. in K.C.,Mo.)	
Lawrence	175
Manhattan	100
*Topeka	500
Wichita[N]	1,000
KENTUCKY	
Covington/Newport (incl. in Cincinnati total)	
Lexington[N]	2,000
*Louisville	9,200
***Paducah	175
LOUISIANA	
***Alexandria	700
Baton Rouge[N]	1,400
Lafayette	600
Lake Charles	250
Monroe	550
**New Orleans	12,000
*Shreveport	1,200
South Central La.[N]	720
MAINE	
Augusta	215
Bangor	1,300
Biddeford-Saco (incl. in So. Maine)	
Brunswick-Bath (incl. in Southern Maine)	
***Calais	135
Lewiston-Auburn	500
Portland	3,900
Rockland	100
Southern Maine (incl. Portland)[N]	5,500
Waterville	300
MARYLAND	
*Annapolis	2,000
**Baltimore	92,000
Cumberland	265
Easton Park Area[N]	100
Frederick	400
Hagerstown	275
Harford County	500
Howard County	7,200
Montgomery and Prince Georges County	99,500
Salisbury	400
Silver Spring (incl. in Montgomery County total)	
MASSACHUSETTS	
Amherst	750
Andover[N]	3,000
Athol	110
***Attleboro	200
Beverly (also incl. in Lynn total)	1,000
Boston (Metro.Region)[N]	228,000
Fall River	1,780
Fitchburg	300
Framingham[N]	10,000
Gardner	100
Gloucester (also incl. in Lynn total)	400
Great Barrington	105
Greenfield	250
Haverhill	1,500
Holyoke	1,100
*Hyannis	1,200
Lawrence (incl. in Andover total)	
Leominster	750
Lowell	2,000
Lynn (incl.Beverly, Peabody, and Salem)[N]	19,000
New Bedford[N]	2,700
Newburyport	280
North Adams (incl. in North Berkshire total)	
North Berkshire	675
Northampton	700
Peabody (also incl. in Lynn total)	2,600
Pittsfield (incl.all Berkshire County)	3,100
Plymouth	500
Salem (also incl. in Lynn total)	1,150
Southbridge	105
Springfield[N]	11,000
Taunton	1,200

State and City	Jewish Population
Webster	125
Worcester[N]	10,000
MICHIGAN	
*Ann Arbor	3,000
Battle Creek	245
Bay City	300
***Benton Harbor	500
**Detroit	70,000
*Flint	2,240
*Grand Rapids	1,500
***Iron County	160
***Iron Mountain	105
Jackson	375
*Kalamazoo	1,000
*Lansing	2,100
Marquette County	175
Mt. Clemens	420
Mt. Pleasant	100
Muskegon	235
*Saginaw	300
***South Haven	100
MINNESOTA	
***Austin	125
**Duluth	1,100
***Hibbing	155
*Minneapolis	22,000
Rochester	240
**St. Paul	7,500
***Virginia	100
MISSISSIPPI	
Biloxi-Gulfport	100
Clarksdale	160
Cleveland	180
Greenville	500
Greenwood	100
Hattiesburg	180
**Jackson	700
Meridian	135
***Natchez	140
***Vicksburg	260
MISSOURI	
Columbia	350
Joplin	115
Kansas City Metro. Area	22,100
***Kennett	110
Springfield	230
*St. Joseph	325
**St. Louis	53,500
MONTANA	
Billings	160
Butte	150
NEBRASKA	
Grand Island-Hastings (incl. in Lincoln total)	
Lincoln	800
Omaha[N]	6,000
NEVADA	
*Las Vegas	18,000
*Reno	1,200
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Bethlehem	100
Claremont	200
Concord	350
***Dover	425
Hanover-Lebanon	360
***Keene	105
***Laconia	150
Littleton (incl. in Bethlehem total)	
Manchester[N]	3,000
Nashua	450
Portsmouth	1,000
Salem (also incl. in Andover, Mass. total)	150
NEW JERSEY	
*Atlantic City (incl. Atlantic County)	15,800
Bayonne	4,500
Bergen County[N]	100,000
Bridgeton	375
Camden (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
Carteret	300
Cherry Hill[N]	28,000
Edison (incl. in Middlesex County total)	
Elizabeth (incl. in Union County)	
Englewood (incl. in Bergen County)	
Essex County[N]	121,000
Flemington	875
Gloucester (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
Hoboken	350
Jersey City	3,500
Lakewood (incl. in Ocean County total)	
Middlesex County[N]	39,350
Millville	240
Monmouth County	33,600
Morris-Sussex counties (incl. in Essex County)	
Morristown (incl. in Morris County)	
Mt. Holly (also incl. in Cherry Hill total)	300
Newark (incl. in Essex County)	
New Brunswick (incl. in Middlesex County)	
North Hudson County[N]	7,000
North Jersey[N]	28,000
Ocean County	9,500
Passaic-Clifton	8,000
Paterson (incl. in North Jersey)	

State and City	Jewish Population
Perth Amboy (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Plainfield (incl. in Union County)	
Princeton	2,600
Salem	230
Somerset County[N]	4,500
Somerville (incl. in Somerset County)	
Toms River (incl. in Ocean County)	
Trenton[N]	8,500
Union County[N]	32,000
Vineland[N]	2,450
Wildwood	425
Willingboro (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
NEW MEXICO	
*Albuquerque	4,000
Las Cruces	100
Los Alamos	100
Santa Fe	450
NEW YORK	
*Albany	12,000
Amenia	140
Amsterdam	595
Auburn	315
***Batavia	165
Beacon (also incl. in Dutchess County total)	315
Binghamton (incl. all Broome County)	3,000
Brewster (also incl. in Danbury, Conn.)	300
*Buffalo	18,500
Canandaigua	135
Catskill	200
***Corning	125
Cortland	440
Dunkirk	150
Ellenville	1,450
Elmira[N]	1,100
Geneva	300
Glens Falls[N]	800
Gloversville	535
Herkimer	185
Highland Falls (incl. in Newburgh total)	105
Hudson	470
Ithaca	1,000
Jamestown	185
Kingston[N]	4,000
Lake George (incl. in Glens Falls total)	
Liberty (also incl. in Sullivan County total)	2,100
***Massena	140
Monroe (incl. in Newburgh-Middletown total)	
Monticello (also incl. in Sullivan County total)	2,400
Mountaindale	150
New York City Metro. Area[N]	1,742,500
New Paltz	150
Newark	220
Newburgh-Middletown	8,950
Niagara Falls	550
Norwich	120
Olean	140
Oneonta	175
Oswego	100
Pawling	105
Plattsburg	275
Port Jervis (also incl. in Newburgh total)	560
Potsdam	175
*Poughkeepsie	4,900
**Rochester	19,600
Rockland County	60,000
Rome	205
Saratoga Springs	500
**Schenectady	5,400
***Sharon Springs	165
South Fallsburg (also incl. in Sullivan County total)	1,100
Sullivan County	7,425
Syracuse[N]	9,000
Troy area	900
Utica[N]	2,000
Walden (incl. in Newburgh-Middletown)	
Watertown	250
NORTH CAROLINA	
Asheville[N]	2,100
**Chapel Hill-Durham	2,400
Charlotte[N]	4,000
*Fayetteville	500
Gastonia	220
Goldsboro	120
*Greensboro	2,500
Greenville	300
Hendersonville	105
High Point (incl. in Greensboro)	
Raleigh	1,375
***Rocky Mount	110
Whiteville Zone[N]	160
Wilmington	500
Winston-Salem	300
NORTH DAKOTA	
Fargo	500
Grand Forks	100
OHIO	
**Akron	6,000
Athens	100
Bowling Green (also incl. in Toledo total)	120
**Canton	2,500

State and City	Jewish Population
Cincinnati[N]	22,000
**Cleveland	70,000
*Columbus	15,000
**Dayton	6,000
East Liverpool	300
Elyria	275
Hamilton	560
Lima	165
Lorain	1,000
Mansfield	600
Marion	150
Middletown	140
***New Philadelphia	140
**Newark	105
Piqua	120
Portsmouth	120
Sandusky	150
Springfield	340
*Steubenville	200
Toledo[N]	6,300
Warren (also incl. in Youngstown total)	500
Wooster	200
Youngstown[N]	5,000
***Zanesville	350
OKLAHOMA	
***Muskogee	120
**Oklahoma City	2,300
*Tulsa	2,900
OREGON	
Corvallis	240
Eugene	1,500
Portland	8,950
***Salem	200
PENNSYLVANIA	
Aliquippa (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	400
Allentown	4,980
*Altoona	580
Ambridge (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	250
Beaver Falls	350
Bethlehem	960
Brownsville	150
Butler	300
***Carbon County	125
Chambersburg	340
Chester (incl. in Phila. total)	
Chester County	3,400
Coatesville (also incl. in Chester County total)	305
Connellsville	110
Delaware Valley (Lower Bucks County)[N]	14,500
Donora (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	100
Easton	1,300
Ellwood City	110
*Erie	800
Farrell (also incl. in Youngstown, Ohio total)	150
Greensburg (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	300
**Harrisburg	6,500
Hazleton area	430
Homestead	300
Indiana	135
Johnstown	490
***Kittanning	175
*Lancaster	2,100
Lebanon	425
Lewisburg	125
Lock Haven	140
McKeesport (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	2,000
Monessen (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	100
Mt. Pleasant	120
New Castle	400
New Kensington	560
Norristown (incl. in Philadelphia total)	
North Penn	200
Oil City	165
Oxford-Kennett Square	180
Philadelphia area[N]	240,000
Phoenixville (also incl. in Phila. total)	340
Pittsburgh[N]	45,000
Pottstown	700
Pottsville	500
*Reading	2,800
***Sayre	100
*Scranton	3,300
Sharon (also incl. in Youngstown, Ohio total)	330
***Shenandoah	230
State College	450
Stroudsburgh	410
Tamaqua (incl. in Hazleton total)	
Uniontown	390
Upper Beaver County	500
Washington (incl. in Pittsburgh)	
Wayne County	210
West Chester (also incl. in Chester County)	300
Wilkes-Barre[N]	4,000
Williamsport	415
York	1,700
RHODE ISLAND	
Providence (incl. rest of state)	17,500
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Aiken	100
*Charleston	3,500
**Columbia	2,000

State and City	Jewish Population
Florence	350
Greenville	600
***Orangeburg County	105
Rock Hill (incl. in Charlotte total)	
Spartanburg	295
Sumter	190
SOUTH DAKOTA	
Sioux Falls	125
TENNESSEE	
Bristol (incl. in Johnson City total)	
Chattanaooga	2,000
Jackson	120
Johnson City	210
Kingsport (incl. in Johnson City total)	
Knoxville	1,350
Memphis	10,000
Nashville	5,120
Oak Ridge	240
TEXAS	
Amarillo	300
*Austin	4,000
Baytown	300
***Beaumont	400
Brownsville	160
College Station	400
*Corpus Christi	1,400
**Dallas	23,000
De Witt County[N]	150
El Paso	4,800
*Ft. Worth	3,600
Galveston	800
**Houston	42,000
Kilgore (incl. in Longview total)	
Laredo	420
Longview	265
Lubbock	350
Lufkin (incl. in Longview total)	
Marshall (incl. in Longview total)	
McAllen	295
Odessa-Midland	150
Port Arthur	260
*San Antonio	9,000
Texarkana	100
Tyler	450
Waco[N]	500
Wharton	170
Wichita Falls	260
UTAH	
Ogden	100
*Salt Lake City	2,400
VERMONT	
Bennington	120
Brattleboro	150
Burlington	1,800
Montpelier-Barre	500
Rutland	450
St. Johnsbury	100
VIRGINIA	
Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington County & Fairfax County)	33,550
Arlington (incl. in Alexandria)	
Blacksburg	300
Charlottesville	800
Chesapeake (incl. in Norfolk total)	
Danville	180
Fredericksburg	140
Hampton (incl. in Newport News)	
***Harrisonburg	115
***Hopewell	140
Lynchburg	275
Martinsville	135
Newport News (incl. Hampton)[N]	2,575
Norfolk (incl. Virginia Beach)	12,100
Petersburg	740
Portsmouth-Suffolk (also incl. in Norfolk total)	1,100
Radford (incl. in Blacksburg total)	
Richmond[N]	8,000
***Roanoke	710
Williamsburg (incl. in Newport News total)	
Winchester	110
WASHINGTON	
Bellingham	120
Longview-Kelso (incl. in Portland, Ore. total)	
***Olympia	145
Pullman (incl. in Moscow, Idaho total)	
Seattle[N]	19,500
Spokane	1,000
Tacoma	750
Tri Cities[N]	240
WEST VIRGINIA	
Bluefield-Princeton	250
*Charleston	1,025
Clarksburg	205
Fairmont	100
Huntington area[N]	380
Morgantown	200
Parkersburg	155
Weirton	150
Wheeling	650
WISCONSIN	
Appleton	250
Beloit	120
Eau Clair	120

State and City	Jewish Population
Fond du Lac	100
***Green Bay	280
*Kenosha	200
*Madison	4,500
Manitowoc	115
Milwaukee[N]	23,900
Oshkosh	150
*Racine	375
Sheboygan	250
Superior (also incl. in Duluth, Minn. total)	165
Waukesha (incl. in Milwaukee)	
Wausau	155
WYOMING	
Cheyenne	255

[N]See Notes below
*Includes entire county
**Includes all of 2 counties
***Figure not updated

Notes

ARKANSAS

Southeast Arkansas–towns in Chicot, Desha, and Drew counties.

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach–includes in L.A. County, Long Beach, Signal Hill, Cerritos, Lakewood, Rosmoor, and Hawaiian Gardens. Includes in Orange County, Los Alamitos, Cypress, Seal Beach, and Huntington Harbor.

Palm Springs–includes Desert Hot Springs, Cathedral City, Palm Desert, and Rancho Mirage.

Pomona Valley–includes Alta Loma, Chino, Claremont, Cucamonga, La Verne, Montclair, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, and Upland.

Sacramento–includes Yolo, Placer, El Dorado, and Sacramento counties.

San Francisco–includes San Francisco, Sonoma, Marin, and San Mateo counties and towns of Palo Alto and Los Altos in Santa Clara County.

COLORADO

Denver–includes Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, and Jefferson counties.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport–includes Monroe, Easton, Trumbull, Fairfield, Bridgeport, Stratford, and part of Milford.

Danbury–includes Danbury, Bethel, New Fairfield, Brookfield, Sherman, Newtown, Redding, Ridgefield, and part of Wilton. Also includes Brewster and Goldens Bridge in New York.

Hartford–includes most of Hartford County and Vernon, Rockville, Ellington, and Tolland in Tolland County.

New Haven–includes New Haven, East Haven, Guilford, Branford, Madison, North Haven, Hampden, West Haven, Milford, Orange, Woodbridge, Bethany, and Cheshire.

New London–includes Central and Southern New London County. Also includes Lower Middlesex County.

Norwalk–includes Norwalk, Weston, Westport, East Norwalk, part of Darien, part of New Canaan, and part of Wilton.

Valley Area–includes Ansonia, Derby-Shelton, Oxford, Seymour.

Waterbury–includes Middlebury, Southbury, Naugatuck, Watertown, Waterbury, Oakville, and Woodbury.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Greater Washington–includes Montgomery and Prince Georges counties in Maryland; Arlington County, Fairfax County, Falls Church, and Alexandria in Virginia.

FLORIDA

Ft. Lauderdale–includes Ft. Lauderdale, Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach, Tamarac, Margate, and other towns in Northern Broward County.

Hollywood–includes Hollywood, Hallandale, Dania, Davie, Pembroke, and other towns in Lower Broward County.

GEORGIA

Augusta–includes Burke, Columbia, and Richmond counties and part of Aiken County, South Carolina.

ILLINOIS

Elgin–includes Northern Kane County, Southern McHenry County, and Western edge of Cook County.

Quad Cities–includes Rock Island, Moline (Illinois), Davenport, and Bettendorf (Iowa).

Rockford–includes Winnebago, Boone, and Stephenson counties.

Southern Illinois–includes lower portion of Illinois below Carlinville, adjacent western portion of Kentucky, and adjacent portion of Southeastern Missouri.

INDIANA

Lafayette–includes Clinton, Montgomery, and Tippecanoe counties.

Northwest Indiana–includes Crown Point, East Chicago, Gary, Hammond, Munster, Valparaiso, Whiting, and the Greater Calumet region.

South Bend–includes St. Joseph and Elkhart counties and part of Berrien County, Michigan.

KANSAS

Wichita–includes Sedgwick County and towns of Salina, Dodge City, Great Bend, Liberal, Russel, and Hays.

KENTUCKY

Lexington–includes Fayette, Bourbon, Scott, Clark, Woodford, Madison, Pulaski, and Jessamin counties.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge–includes E. Baton Rouge, Ascencion, Livingston, St. Landry, Iberville, Pt. Coupee, and W. Baton Rouge parishes.

South Central–includes Abbeville, Lafayette, New Iberia, Crowley, and Opelousas.

MAINE

Southern Maine–includes York, Cumberland, and Sagadahoc counties.

MARYLAND

Easton Park Area–includes towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, and Talbot counties.

MASSACHUSETTS

Andover–includes Andover, N. Andover, Boxford, Lawrence, Methuen, Tewksbury, Dracut, and town of Salem, New Hampshire. Portion also included in Boston total.

Boston Metropolitan Region–includes 14 towns in Essex County, 34 towns in Middlesex County, 23 towns in Norfolk County, 15 towns in Plymouth County, 1 town in Bristol County, and all of Suffolk County.

Framingham–includes Maynard, Stow, Hudson, Marlborough, Framingham, Southborough, Ashland, Hopkinton, Holliston, Milford, Medway, Millis, Medfield, Billingham, and Franklin. Portion also included in Boston total.

Lynn–includes Lynn, Saugus, Nahant, Swampscott, Lynnfield, Peabody, Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Danvers, Middleton, Wenham, Topsfield; Hamilton, Manchester, Ipswich, Essex, Gloucester, and Rockport. Portion also included in Boston total.

New Bedford–includes New Bedford, Dartmouth, Fairhaven, and Mattapoisett.

Springfield–includes Springfield, Longmeadow, E. Longmeadow, Hampden, Wilbraham, Agwam, and W. Springfield

Worcester–includes Worcester, Northborough, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Boylston, W. Boylston, Holden, Paxton, Leicester, Auburn, Millbury, and Sutton.

NEBRASKA

Omaha–includes Douglas and Sarpy counties; also Pottawatomie County, Iowa.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester–includes Manchester, Hookset, Merrimac, Amherst, Goffstown, Auburn, Derry, and Londonderry.

NEW JERSEY

Bergen County–Allendale, Elmwood Park, Fair Lawn, Franklin Lakes, Oakland, Midland Park, Rochelle Park, Saddle Brook, and Wykoff also included in North Jersey estimate.

Cherry Hill–includes Camden, Burlington, and Gloucester counties.

Essex County–includes all of Essex County, Western Hudson County, all of Morris County except those towns in North Jersey estimate, several towns in Sussex and Warren counties, and Springfield, Berkeley Hts., Summit, New Providence, and Hillside in Union County.

Middlesex County–includes in Somerset County, Kendall Park and Somerset; in Mercer County, Hightstown.

North Hudson County–includes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, and Woodcliff.

North Jersey–includes all of Passaic County except Passaic and Clifton. Also includes in Morris County, Pequannock, Lincoln Pk., Butler, Kinnelon, Riverdale, and Smoke Rise. Also includes 9 towns in Bergen County.

Somerset County–includes most of Somerset County and a portion of Hunterdon County.

Trenton–includes most of Mercer County.

Union County–includes all of Union County except Springfield, Summit, Hillside, New Providence, Berkeley Hts. Also includes a few towns in adjacent areas of Somerset and Middlesex counties.

Vineland–includes most of Cumberland County and towns in neighboring counties adjacent to Vineland.

NEW YORK

Elmira–includes Chemung, Tioga, and Schuyler counties. Also includes Tioga and Bradford counties in Pa.

Glens Falls–includes Warren and Washington counties, Lower Essex County, and Upper Saratoga County.

Kingston–includes eastern half of Ulster County.

New York City Metropolitan Area–includes the 5 boroughs of New York City, Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk counties. For a total Jewish population of the New York Metropolitan Region, include Southwestern Connecticut, Rockland County, and Northeastern New Jersey.

Syracuse–includes Onandago County, Western Madison County, and most of Oswego County.

Utica–southeastern third of Oneida County.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville–includes Buncombe, Haywood, and Madison counties.

Charlotte–includes Mecklenberg County. Also includes Lancaster and York counties in South Carolina.

Whiteville Zone–includes Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw, and Loris, S.C.

OHIO

Cincinnati–includes Hamilton County. Also includes Boone, Campbell, and Kenton counties in Kentucky.

Toledo–includes Fulton, Lucas, and Wood counties. Also includes Monroe and Lenawee counties, Michigan.

Youngstown–includes Mahoning and Trumbull counties. Also includes Mercer County, Pa.

PENNSYLVANIA

Delaware Valley–includes Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warington, Yardley, Richboro, Feasterville, Middletown, Southampton, and Holland.

Philadelphia–includes Philadelphia City, Montgomery, Delaware, and Central and Upper Bucks counties. For a total Jewish population of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Region, include Lower Bucks County, Chester County, and Cherry Hill area of New Jersey.

Pittsburgh–includes all of Allegheny County and adjacent portions of Washington, Westmoreland, and Beaver counties.

Wilkes-Barre–includes all of Luzerne County except Southern portion, which is included in Hazleton totals.

TEXAS

De Witt County–includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales, and La Vaca counties.

Waco–includes McLennan, Coryell, Bell, Falls, Hamilton, and Hill counties.

VIRGINIA

Newport News–includes Newport News, Hampton, Williamsburg, James City, York County, and Poquosson County.

Richmond–includes Richmond City, Henrico County, and Chesterfield County.

WASHINGTON

Seattle–includes King County and adjacent portions of Snohomish and Kitsap counties.

Tri Cities–includes Pasco, Richland, Kennewic, and Yakima.

WEST VIRGINIA

Huntington–includes nearby towns in Ohio and Kentucky.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee–includes Milwaukee County, Eastern Waukesha County, and Southern Ozaukee County.

World Jewish Population, 1984

THE 1986 AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK (AJYB) contained new estimates of the Jewish population in the various countries of the world at the end of 1984, as well as background information and analysis. The statistical tables are reprinted here, without the accompanying text. Changes have been made in one respect only. While the estimates for the Jews in the 1986 AJYB related to the end of 1984, the data for the general population of the respective countries reproduced the United Nations estimates as of midyear 1983. This time the updated United Nations estimates as of midyear 1984 have been used for the total population,[1] and the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of the respective country's total population has been adjusted accordingly.

The 1988 AJYB will present updated and, where necessary, revised Jewish population estimates for the countries of the world at the end of 1986.

The three main elements which affect the accuracy of each estimate are the nature of the base data, the recency of the base data, and the method of updating. A simple code combining these elements is used to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of the Jewish population figures reported in the detailed tables below. The code indicates different quality levels of the reported estimates: (A) base figure derived from countrywide census or relatively reliable Jewish population survey; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population movements in the intervening period; (B) base figure derived from less accurate but recent countrywide Jewish population investigation; partial information on population movements in the intervening period; (C) base figure derived from less recent sources, and/or unsatisfactory or partial coverage of Jewish population in country; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; and (D) base figure essentially conjectural; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the years in which the base figures or important partial updates were obtained are also provided.

[1]United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, *Population and Vital Statistics Report: Data Available as of January 1, 1986.* Statistical Papers, Series A, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1986.

For a country whose Jewish population estimate of 1984 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

U.O. SCHMELZ
SERGIO DELLAPERGOLA

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1982 AND 1984

Region	1982 Original	1982 Revised Abs. Nos.	1982 Revised %	1984 Abs. Nos.	1984 %	% Change 1982–84
Diaspora	9,614,300	9,594,300	74.1	9,491,600	73.2	−1.1
Israel	3,374,300	3,349,600	25.9	3,471,700	26.8	+3.6
World	12,988,600	12,943,900	100.0	12,963,300	100.0	+0.2
America, Total	6,477,700	6,477,600	50.1	6,469,000	49.9	−1.3
North[a]	6,013,000	6,015,000	46.5	6,015,000	46.4	—
Central	46,800	46,800	0.4	47,300	0.4	+1.1
South	417,900	415,800	3.2	406,700	3.1	−2.2
Europe, Total	2,842,700	2,825,100	21.8	2,758,600	21.3	−2.6
West	1,070,900	1,053,300	8.1	1,048,900	8.1	−1.0
East & Balkans[b]	1,771,800	1,771,800	13.7	1,709,700	13.2	−3.5
Asia, Total	3,417,200	3,392,500	26.2	3,509,300	27.1	+3.4
Israel	3,374,300	3,349,600	25.9	3,471,700	26.8	+3.6
Rest[b]	42,900	42,900	0.3	37,600	0.3	−12.4
Africa, Total	172,000	169,700	1.3	147,400	1.1	−13.3
North	21,250	19,950	0.2	16,700	0.1	−17.5
South	120,250	119,250	0.9	119,100	0.9	−0.1
Rest[c]	30,500	30,500	0.2	11,600	0.1	−62.0
Oceania	79,000	79,000	0.6	79,000	0.6	—

a U.S.A. and Canada.
b The Asian territories of USSR and Turkey are included in "East Europe and Balkans."
c Including Ethiopia.

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1984

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	25,150,000	310,000	12.3	A 1981 X
United States	236,681,000	5,705,000	24.1	B 1971–83
Total Northern America		6,015,000		
Bahamas	226,000	500	2.2	C 1970
Costa Rica	2,534,000	2,500	1.0	C 1984
Cuba	9,992,000	700	0.1	D
Dominican Republic	6,102,000	100	0.0	D
Guatemala	7,740,000	800	0.1	A 1983
Haiti	5,185,000	100	0.0	D
Jamaica	2,301,000	300	0.1	B 1982
Mexico	76,792,000	35,000	0.4	C 1980
Netherlands Antilles	261,000	700	2.7	D
Panama	2,134,000	3,800	1.8	D
Puerto Rico	3,398,000	2,000	0.6	D X
Virgin Islands	103,000	500	4.9	D X
Other		300		D
Total Central America		47,300		
Argentina	30,097,000	228,000	7.6	C 1960–75
Bolivia	6,253,000	600	0.1	C 1984 X
Brazil	132,580,000	100,000	0.8	B 1980
Chile	11,878,000	17,000	1.4	C 1982 X
Colombia	28,217,000	7,000	0.2	C 1977
Ecuador	9,115,000	1,000	0.1	C 1982
Paraguay	3,278,000	900	0.3	C 1984 X
Peru	19,198,000	5,000	0.3	C 1982
Surinam	370,000	200	0.5	B 1984
Uruguay	2,990,000	27,000	9.0	D
Venezuela	16,851,000	20,000	1.2	D
Total Southern America		406,700		
Total		6,469,000		

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1984

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	7,552,000	6,500	0.9	A 1981
Belgium	9,853,000	32,200	3.3	D
Bulgaria	8,961,000	3,300	0.4	C 1965
Czechoslovakia	15,459,000	8,500	0.5	D
Denmark	5,112,000	6,800	1.3	C 1984
Finland	4,882,000	1,000	0.2	A 1984
France	54,947,000	530,000	9.6	B 1972–78
Germany, East	16,671,000	800	0.0	D
Germany, West	61,181,000	33,000	0.5	B 1984
Gibraltar	28,000	600	21.4	A 1981
Great Britain	56,488,000	330,000	5.8	B 1984 X
Greece	9,896,000	5,000	0.5	B 1984
Hungary	10,665,000	61,500	5.8	D
Ireland	3,535,000	2,300	0.6	A 1984 X
Italy	56,983,000	32,000	0.6	B 1982
Luxembourg	363,000	700	1.9	C 1970
Netherlands	14,420,000	26,200	1.8	C 1984
Norway	4,140,000	1,000	0.2	A 1982
Poland	36,914,000	4,600	0.1	D
Portugal	10,164,000	600	0.1	D
Rumania	22,897,000	26,000	0.1	B 1984
Spain	38,333,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	8,337,000	15,000	1.8	C 1982
Switzerland	6,442,000	19,000	2.9	A 1980
Turkey[a]	48,265,000	20,000	0.4	C 1984
USSR[a]	275,000,000	1,575,000	5.7	B 1979
Yugoslavia	22,963,000	5,000	0.2	B 1980
Total		2,758,600		

[a]Including Asian regions.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1984

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Hong Kong	5,364,000	1,000	0.2	C 1980
India	745,012,000	4,300	0.0	C 1971
Iran	43,414,000	25,000	0.6	D X
Iraq	15,356,000	200	0.0	D
Israel	4,200,000[a]	3,471,700	826.6	A 1984
Japan	120,018,000	1,000	0.0	C 1984
Lebanon	2,644,000	100	0.0	D
Philippines	53,351,000	100	0.0	C 1982
Singapore	2,529,000	300	0.1	C 1984
Syria	9,934,000	4,000	0.4	D
Thailand	50,396,000	300	0.0	C 1980
Yemen	6,660,000	1,000	0.2	D X
Other		300		D
Total		3,509,300		

[a]End 1984.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1984

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	45,817,000	200	0.0	D
Ethiopia	42,441,000	10,000	0.2	D
Kenya	19,536,000	100	0.0	B 1984 X
Morocco	21,408,000	13,000	0.6	D X
South Africa	31,586,000	118,000	3.7	B 1980
Tunisia	6,937,000	3,500	0.5	C 1982
Zaire	29,671,000	200	0.0	D
Zambia	6,445,000	300	0.0	D
Zimbabwe	7,980,000	1,100	0.1	D
Other		1,000		D
Total		147,400		

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1984

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	15,544,000	75,000	4.8	B 1981
New Zealand	3,233,000	4,000	1.2	B 1981
Total		79,000		

TABLE 7. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS (100,000 JEWS AND ABOVE), 1984

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the Diaspora		In the World	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,705,000	60.1	60.1	44.0	44.0
2	Israel	3,471,700	—	—	26.8	70.8
3	Soviet Union	1,575,000	16.6	76.7	12.1	82.9
4	France	530,000	5.6	82.3	4.1	87.0
5	Great Britain	330,000	3.5	85.8	2.5	89.5
6	Canada	310,000	3.3	89.1	2.4	91.9
7	Argentina	228,000	2.4	91.5	1.8	93.7
8	South Africa	118,000	1.2	92.7	0.9	94.6
9	Brazil	100,000	1.0	93.7	0.8	95.4

TABLE 8. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1984

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	Below 1	1–5	5–10	10–25	25 and over
	Number of Countries					
Total	75[a]	50	15	6	3	1
Below 1,000	24	19	4	—	1	—
1,000–5,000	17	14	3	—	—	—
5,000–10,000	7	6	1	—	—	—
10,000–50,000	16	10	5	1	—	—
50,000–100,000	2	—	1	1	—	—
100,000–1,000,000	6	1	1	3	1	—
1,000,000 and over	3	—	—	1	1	1
	Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)					
Total	12,963,000	391,100	333,400	2,751,500	6,015,600	3,471,700
Below 1,000	11,500	8,500	2,400	—	600	—
1,000–5,000	41,400	31,600	9,800	—	—	—
5,000–10,000	43,800	37,000	6,800	—	—	—
10,000–50,000	362,400	214,000	121,400	27,000	—	—
50,000–100,000	136,500	—	75,000	61,500	—	—
100,000–1,000,000	1,616,000	100,000	118,000	1,088,000	310,000	—
1,000,000 and over	10,751,700	—	—	1,575,000	5,705,000	3,471,700
	Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)					
Total	100.0	3.0	2.6	21.2	46.4	26.8
Below 1,000	0.1	0.0	0.0	—	0.0	—
1,000–5,000	0.3	0.2	0.1	—	—	—
5,000–10,000	0.3	0.3	0.0	—	—	—
10,000–50,000	2.8	1.6	0.9	0.2	—	—
50,000–100,000	1.1	—	0.6	0.5	—	—
100,000–1,000,000	12.5	0.8	0.9	8.4	2.4	—
1,000,000 and over	82.9	—	—	12.1	44.0	26.8

[a]Excluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews.